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A Translation and Historical Commentary of
George Akropolites' History

by

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Submitted for the degree of PhD 1978



ABSTRACT

A Translation and Historical Commentary of George Akropolites' History

Ruth Juliana Macrides

George Akropolites' History, the major contemporary Greek source for the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261), has been available to historians in the reliable edition by A. Heisenberg for three quarters of a century. As the text does not present problems, the work has been used freely. However, no systematic study of the History as a whole has been undertaken. This has led, at times, to an improper understanding of the author's words. But, even more serious, the lack of a study has stood in the way of formulating ideas about Byzantine historiography. Questions such as, the sources available to the author, sources the author made use of, varying methods of narration in different authors, reasons for discrepancies in accounts, must be raised and answered for each author. The commentary attempts to answer these questions for Akropolites' History.

Since Akropolites is, for many events, our sole source, his account cannot be checked against others for verification. However, in the many cases where it is possible to compare his narrative with that of other sources, it is found to be admirably reliable and precise. Apart from drawing on his personal knowledge of events he observed or participated in during his lifetime, Akropolites makes use of written and oral sources. He carefully gives credit to others when his source is an eyewitness. However, surprisingly, his written sources for events before his lifetime, are not to be found in the work of his predecessor, a History which overlaps his by a few years, but in material which does not survive but would seem to have been available to him as an administrative official at court. Not only did his career make him privy to such information, but it also affected the attitudes expressed in his History. Therefore, knowledge of Akropolites' family background and cursus honorum is fundamental to an understanding of the History. The Introduction provides a description of the Akropolites family, established in Constantinople at least from the tenth century, and the stages in Akropolites' career.

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Abbreviations and Short Titles

1. Periodicals

<u>B</u>	<u>Byzantion</u>
<u>BB</u>	<u>Byzantinobulgaria</u>
<u>BF</u>	<u>Byzantinische Forschungen</u>
<u>BS</u>	<u>Byzantinoslavica</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>DOP</u>	<u>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</u>
<u>EEBS</u>	<u>Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών</u>
<u>EO</u>	<u>Echos d'Orient</u>
<u>JÖB</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</u>
<u>JÖBG</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</u>
<u>NH</u>	<u>Νέος Ἑλληνομνημων</u>
<u>OCP</u>	<u>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</u>
<u>REB</u>	<u>Revue des études byzantines</u>
<u>REG</u>	<u>Revue des études grecques</u>
<u>SBAN</u>	<u>Spisanie na búlgarskata akademiâ na Naukite</u>
<u>VV</u>	<u>Vizantiiskii Vremmenik</u>

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INTRODUCTION

At first glance, George Akropolites' History would not seem to be one of those sources which needs analysis and criticism before it reveals its message. Akropolites' Greek and A. Heisenberg's reliable edition help to make it accessible. Indeed, historians have taken the History for granted because of its relative simplicity of language and expression vis à vis the works of other Byzantine historians.¹ The result of this attitude to the text is that material is taken from it at random, while no study of the History has been made.

Yet, even with an author like Akropolites mistakes and misconceptions can arise from taking material out of context. Furthermore, this process of extraction prevents one from coming to an understanding of Akropolites' methods, in particular, and Byzantine historiography, in general. The work must be examined as a whole before it is possible to evaluate the author's use of language. Comparison with other contemporary writers gives a basis from which to judge differences in methods of narration. A study of earlier and later authors dealing with the same events provides information about sources and their use. It is only when this work has been done for individual authors that conclusions can be drawn about Byzantine historiography.

Likewise, little attention has been given to the author himself. Heisenberg, in his edition of the History, provided a brief outline of Akropolites' career by way of introduction, and this is still the only biography of the man. However, since the publication of the edition,

(1) On this subject see E. Kriaras, 'Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance: Naissance de la littérature néo-hellénique', Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (London, 1967), 286.

material has become available which can contribute to a more precise and full picture of the Akropolites family and George himself. The following introductory pages are offered as a supplement to, and revision of, existing work on the man and his History.

The Family

Most scholarly discussion of the Akropolitai has centred on George¹ and his son Constantine, the two members of the family who had literary interests. Because of the attention devoted to these men and also because references to other Akropolitai are few and far between, the family gives the impression of having emerged from obscurity in the thirteenth century with George -- the orphaned refugee who succeeded at Nicaea. D.M. Nicol and D. Polemis have contributed to our knowledge of the family but in their work they have concentrated on Akropolitai living in the thirteenth century and later.¹ The family's origins have not been explored; therefore, George Akropolites' ancestry has still to be examined. However, it is possible to rectify this omission by piecing together scattered references to the family found in documents, narrative sources, and on seals. The discussion of the family which follows, and the prosopographical list appended to it, can provide a context in which to study and assess George Akropolites' career.

In 1905, S. Lampros discovered the oldest member of the Akropolites family (no. 1) in a source dated to the tenth century. The editor of the text had failed to recognise in the word ὁ Ἀκροπολίτης a proper name, mistaking it for a reference to an anonymous inhabitant of the acropolis of Constantinople.² This, the first known mention of an Akropolites, associates the man with the capital city, since the passage in which the name occurs concerns a house in Constantinople belonging to him. One might therefore claim a Constan-

(1) For prosopographies of the family which have appeared to date see D.M. Nicol, 'Constantine Akropolites, A Prosopographical Note', *DOP* 29 (1965), 249-256; D. Polemis, *Doukai*, 82-84; E. Trapp, W. Rainer, H.-V. Beyer, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, I, 1 (Vienna, 1976), 48-50.

(2) E. Bekker, ed., *Georgii Codini Excerpta*, 23, 12-13: ὁ οἶκος ... ὅν-
 περ ἔχει ὁ ἀκροπολίτης. See also S. Lampros, 'Ἀκροπολίτης,
 ὄνομα παραγνωρισθέν', *NH* 2 (1905), 159.

tinopolitan origin for the family although this must remain a conjecture in the absence of further evidence. Certainly later members of the family resided in the capital.

Up to now this reference to an Akropolites living in the tenth century was the only evidence for the family's existence at that early date. However, an unpublished lead seal in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection confirms that the family was already established by the tenth century (no.2). The seal's owner - whose Christian name cannot be read because of damage to the seal - held dignities associating him with the Emperor's honour guard. He also held the title of chartoularios tou stratiotikou. He was, therefore, a civil functionary whose duties included the drafting of documents for the sekretion, or office to which he was attached.¹

The professional activities of this tenth century official are comparable to those carried out by later Akropolitai. It would seem that he performed functions similar to Nicholas Akropolites' (no. 3), chartoularios tou stratiotikou logothetou, living in the second half of the eleventh century, and Michael Akropolites' (no. 6), megas chartoularios tou genikou logothetou, in the mid-twelfth century. These men had positions in the civil administration, with duties entailing paper work for the various bureaux to which they were assigned.

There is further evidence, afforded by an unpublished lead seal, of an Akropolites (no. 7) who held a somewhat different, and perhaps higher, position than those mentioned above. The seal refers to him as kensor and parathalassites; as such he would have been in charge of maritime trade in the port of Constantinople, with judiciary functions. However, by the twelfth century, the date which has been assigned to this seal, the responsibilities of a parathalassites were even more extensive. He was at the head of a service (σέκρετον τῆς θαλάσσης)

(1) See N. Oikonomides, Les Listes, 309-310.

which was in control of navigation in Byzantine waters.¹ The duties of Michael Akropolites as parathalassites, therefore, also fall within the administrative sphere.

These are the members of the family living in the tenth through the twelfth centuries for whom titles are known. On the basis of these cases the family could be described as an administrative one. Indeed, the only member of the family who exercised any military functions was George (no. 9) who acted as praitor very briefly.² It remains to be seen whether George's father (no. 8) falls into this pattern of a civil functionary.

The little known about the man derives from George's History in which he refers to his parents without naming them and gives some indication as to his father's position in Constantinople. He appears to have been directly involved with the Latins in some capacity for George says that his father was 'very much in their power' because of his large expenses and their generosity to him.³ He then goes on to say that his father had a large ὑπηρεσία around him. It is impossible to know whether this refers to a staff of household servants in his father's employ (and, therefore, to the cause of his large expenses) or to his staff as a functionary in the Latin administration.⁴ Theodore II Laskaris, in his encomium for George, speaks of the latter's ancestry as εὐγενής⁵, 'noble', and George himself relates a conversation he had with the Emperor John Batatzes in which the Emperor described his family as περιφανής⁶, 'distinguished'. These words are too vague in them -

(1) See H. Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et Bureaux Maritimes à Byzance', REB 19 (1961), 250-252; P. Lemerle, 'Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IV^e croisade d'après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra', REB 19 (1961), 268.

(2) See below, 28.

(3) History, ed. Helsenberg, 46, 15-18.

(4) See the two other passages where Akropolites uses the word ὑπηρεσία (91, 1-2; 142, 7).

(5) For the encomium see A. Markopoulos, ed., EEBS 36 (1968), 113, 97-98.

(6) History, 49, 10-19.

selves, especially in the contexts in which they are found, for one to draw conclusions. However, given the administrative positions held by earlier members of the family and the fact that George was accepted at the court of Nicaea and was educated there at the Emperor's expense,¹ one might conclude that his father was a prominent man, either because he had private resources or because of his function, or both.

Seen against this background, George Akropolites' career,² with its chancery-related duties and its culmination in the office of megas logothetes, a position he held for over twenty years, contains elements inherited from ancestors, as well as something new which places it outside the family tradition. The Emperor's patronage of his education and the subsequent official positions he enjoyed must to some degree have been made possible by his family's reputation. Certainly there are many examples of men who filled administrative positions in Nicaea, themselves descendants of civil functionaries under the Angeli: Tornikes, Mesopotamites and Alyates, to name but three.³

Therefore, the nature of George's professional position at Nicaea and later in Constantinople was not unusual, given his family background. Rather, it is the degree of success he attained in his career which places him somewhat outside or above the rest of the family. The element which he introduced into the family's history and which changed its status was the marriage he contracted with a relation of Michael Palaiologos, the future Emperor Michael VIII, himself related to former Emperors.⁴ George Akropolites became the Emperor's gambros.⁵ Although this word describes

(1) A. Heisenberg, Opera II, 19, 29-32.

(2) See below, 26-42, for the details of his career.

(3) For the careers of these men and their backgrounds see the commentary on 90, 20-4; 91, 3-5; also, M. Angold, Byzantine Government, 71-72.

(4) On Michael's family see the note on 84, 1-5.

(5) MM, III, 96.

the relationship of the men only in general terms¹ and therefore does not make it possible to determine the woman's precise relationship to Michael Palaiologos, it is certain that George's marriage brought with it distinct social advantages. Before this marriage the Akropolitai may have been described as εὐγενής but they would have owed this name to their reputation as an administrative family.² After George's marriage the family could claim to be 'noble' by virtue of its blood relationship with Emperors.³

George's marriage undoubtedly contributed to his prestige, his prosperity and, therefore, to the legacy he left his children. Towards the end of his life he spent a large sum of money in restoring the church of the Anastasis in Constantinople which he bequeathed to his son.⁴ Like his father, Constantine contracted a marriage with a notable family and held the title of megas logothetes, thus continuing the family tradition of administrative service to Emperors.

Thus the Akropolitai, a family of civil administrators going back to the tenth century, did become more prominent in the thirteenth century with George Akropolites. But his career should no longer be seen without reference to the Akropolitai who lived before him.

(1) Gambros implies a relationship brought about by marriage to a female relation, a daughter, sister, niece, or granddaughter. See St. Binon, 'A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue', BZ 38 (1938), 146.

(2) See Angold, Byzantine Government, 72, for the example of Alyates.

(3) For a discussion of the meaning of εὐγενής see A. Laiou, 'The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development', Viator 4 (1973), 132 ff.; also 139-140 for the career of Nikephoros Choumnos, a case similar to Akropolites'. See also I. Ševčenko, Etudes sur la Polémique entre Théodore Metochite et Nicéphore Choumnos (Brussels, 1962), 7, and note 1, on the subject of these 'mixed' marriages.

(4) I. Ševčenko described George's work of restoration as a 'major act of patronage': 'Society and Intellectual Life in the Fourteenth Century', Actes du XIVe Congrès International des études byzantines I (Bucharest, 1971), 90. According to an account of George's expenses given by his son Constantine, George had to reduce his son's inheritance by 4,500 nomismata because of the strain of the enterprise on his resources. Within one year 16,000 nomismata (=c. 48 kilos of gold) were spent on the restoration. See Constantine Akropolites, Λόγος, ed. Delehaye, Analecta Bollandiana 51 (1933), 280-282. For other indications of George's wealth see the History, 151, 20-22 and commentary on the passage.

1. N. Akropolites: A source of the tenth century¹ refers to the home of an Akropolites located in the Constantinianae quarter of Constantinople,² to the west of the acropolis. This is the earliest reference to the name³ in a written source.

2. N. (...ios) Akropolites: He is known only from an unpublished seal in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (accession number 58.106.2649), dated to the tenth century for reasons of epigraphy. The seal reads ... $\epsilon\omega$ [βασιλικῆ] σπα[θαρίῳ καὶ ἐ]πὶ τοῦ [χρυσοτρ]ηκλίνου, [καὶ] χα- [ρτου] λαρ [ἰῶ] τ[οῦ] στρατ [ῶ] τ [ικοῦ] Ἀκρ[ο]πολίτ[ης].⁴ This man should perhaps be identified with no. 1.

3. Nicholas Akropolites: An imperial act (pittakion) of 1088⁵, granting the island of Patmos to a monk of Latros, bears the signature of Nicholas Akropolites, chartoularios tou stratiotikou logothetou, a title which suggests that he was in charge of documents and records of a financial bureau.⁶ He also held the dignity of βεστάρχης.⁷

(1) T. Preger, Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum II (Leipzig, 1907), 150, 1-2. For the date of this work see G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, 471.

(2) R. Janin, Constantinople Byzantine (Paris, 1964), 2nd edn., 305, 359, 372.

(3) H. Moritz (Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten II (Landshut, 1898), 36) interprets the name Akropolites as 'inhabitant of the fortress', an etymology supported by a cryptic reference to George Akropolites made by the Emperor Theodore II in a letter to his friend George Mouzalon: οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱά τινες πολιστοὶ πανακλεοῦς ἀκροπόλεως.

See Epistulae, ed. Festa, 251, 19-20; also commentary on 130, 20-1. For another etymology of the name, likewise alluded to by Theodore II, see note on 131, 7-9.

(4). See Plate 1, figs. 1a, 1b. For the dignities of imperial spatharios and epi tou chrysotriklinou see N. Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 297-298, 299. For the chartoularios tou stratiotikou see now R. Guillard, 'Le Chartulaire et le grand chartulaire', Revue des études sud-est européennes 9 (1971), 405-410.

(5) MM, VI, 50.

(6) Guillard, op. cit., 410.

(7) See Oikonomidès, Les listes, 259.

4. Maria Akropolitissa: Known from an unpublished lead seal in the Shaw Collection which attributes the court dignity of kouropalatissa to her.¹ The seal has been dated to the eleventh century for epigraphical reasons. Her husband, the kouropalates, cannot be identified.
5. Gregory Akropolites: A monk, the addressee of a letter from Michael Glykas (12th century).²
6. Michael Akropolites: A seal of the meras cnartoularios tou genikou logothetou bearing the name Michael Akropolites has been attributed to a man of the same name mentioned in two documents of the mid-twelfth century (1148; 1144 or 1159).³ He was responsible for drawing up the documents and/or registering them with the appropriate sekretou.⁴
7. Michael Akropolites: An unpublished lead seal in the Shaw Collection attests to a Michael Akropolites kensor and parathalassites (Plate 1, figs. 2a, 2b) whom Laurent has identified with Michael Akropolites (no.6).⁵ If this identification is correct, the titles on this seal represent a

(1) This seal is recorded in V. Laurent's unpublished Shaw catalogue, no. 257 (accession no. 1019), a copy of which is in the library of the Assumptionist Fathers in Paris and another at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. See also Polemis, Doukai, 84.

(2) Migne, PG clviii, col. 817; G. Mikragiannanites, 'Κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδ. κυριακού 'Αγίας 'Αννης', ΕΕΒΣ 29 (1959), 155.

(3) V. Laurent, Les Sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican (Vatican, 1962), 70-71.

(4) Chrysobull of the Emperor Manuel (1148): εἶχε καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐν ταῖς δέσσαι των κόλλων τὸ τοῦ 'Ακροπολίτου Μιχαήλ (s. Lampros, 'Ὁ Ἰατὴρ τοῦ Μανουὴλ Κομνηνοῦ', NH 13 (1916), 325). Protakis of the Emperor Manuel (1144 or 1159): δὶὰ τοῦ 'Ακροπολίτου Μιχαήλ (L. Petit, 'Le monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié', Bulletin de l'institut archéologique russe à Constantinople 6 (1900-1901), 33).

(5) See Laurent's discussion of the seal in Les Sceaux byzantins du Médaillier Vatican, 70-71. idem, unpublished Shaw catalogue, no. 624. The basis for the identification seems to be the similarity in names and the epigraphy of the seal.

different, more advanced stage in the man's career.¹

8. N. Akropolites: All that is known about George Akropolites' father derives from the History where George makes some comments about his father's position in Constantinople.² It is not likely that George's father can be identified with Michael Akropolites (nos. 6,7) or with the monk Gregory (no. 5) since the difference in their dates is too great. His father died in Latin-held Constantinople in c. 1235.³ Nothing at all is known about George's mother. George may have been the only child of their marriage.⁴

9. George Akropolites: Born in Constantinople in 1217,⁵ he went to the court of the Laskarids in Asia Minor at the age of sixteen,⁶ during the reign of John Doukas Batatzes. He was educated there and worked as a grammatikos until the reign of Theodore II Laskaris when, it appears, he received his first titled office.⁷ George returned to the capital in 1261 where he taught, performed the duties of a megas logothetes, and wrote his History.

(1) For his functions see the discussion above, 15-16 ; see also N. Oikonomides, Les Listes, 321, 325; idem., Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976), 133 and note 44; H. Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et Bureaux Maritimes à Byzance', REB 19 (1961), 246-250.

(2) See the History, XXIX, the commentary on the passage, and above 16-17.

(3) History, 46,23-47,2.

(4) George refers to τίκτα who surrounded his father and prevented his leaving Constantinople (History, 46,18-19). However, the children may have been part of his staff of servants and not his own offspring. See above 16-17 .

(5) The date of his birth is calculated from a reference to his age in the History. See 63,22 and commentary on 62,23-63,4 . See also Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera II, iv, note 2.

(6) History, 46,12-13.

(7) For an analysis of the stages of his career see 26-42. Brief sketches of his life are to be found in Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera II, iii-xiii; G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, I, 266-268; Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, no. 518, pp. 48-49.

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George's marriage to Eudokia,¹ a relative of Michael Palaiologos, took place before 1256.² They had two sons,³ Constantine (no. 10) and Melchisedek (no. 11); they do not appear to have had any daughters. George died in 1282.⁴

10. Constantine Akropolites: The elder of George Akropolites' sons,⁵ born in the 1250's,⁶ he followed in his father's footsteps with regard to career and literary interests. He held the titles of logothetes tou genikou and meas logothetes under Andronikos II and was a prolific writer.⁷ However, he differed markedly from his father in his attitude

(1) Her name is known from Constantine Akropolites (Λόγος, ed. Delehay, *Analecta Bollandiana* 51 (1933), 282. S.Kougeas (*Βυζαντινὰ Μεταβυζαντινὰ* 1 (1949), 61-74), unaware of this reference to her name, tried to show that Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa, mentioned in a document of 1351, was George's wife. Polemis (*Douka*, 83, note 4), in an attempt to reconcile Kougeas' opinion with Constantine's statement, suggested that Eudokia is the monastic name of Maria. But this is unlikely since monastic names, as a rule, begin with the same letter as the person's secular name. On this see, for example, J.F. Boissonade's note in *Anecdota Nova* (Paris, 1844), 24.

(2) Akropolites accompanied the Emperor Theodore II on campaign in the spring of 1256 (*History*, 124, 25 ff.) and was captured and imprisoned by Michael II Komnenos Doukas during that campaign (150, 21-24). Michael Palaiologos sent an ambassador to Michael II in 1259 requesting Akropolites' release, in response to the pleas of Akropolites' wife (164, 16-21). Therefore, Akropolites was married before he left on campaign in 1256 and so, also before Michael Palaiologos came to the throne. For Eudokia see *supra*, 17-18.

(3) From certain statements made by Constantine Akropolites, it appears that George at one time had more than two children. See the Λόγος, ed. Delehay, 280, 37: πρωτότοκος τούτω των υἱων; 281, 1-2: μοι ὡς πρωτογενεῖ πλεῖον των ἄλλων εἰς κληρον δοῦναι βεβούλητο. It is known that George also had a godson, a Georgian called George who was brought up with Constantine and educated with him; he later became a monk (Gregory). See cod. Ambros. H. 81 Sup. 216: 'Ηλικιωτῆς ἐμὸς πατὴρ δὲ μοι καὶ ἀδελφός, οὗ νόμῳ γάμου τούτω κατ'ἐμὲ γεγονώς, θειοτέρα δὲ γεννήσει... (τῇ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγω βαπτισματός εἰς ὃιδὲν λογισθεῖς.... Perhaps he is one of the children Constantine refers to in his Λόγος.

(4) See Pachymeres, I, 521, 10-18 and below 28.

(5) Constantine Akropolites, Λόγος, ed. Delehay, 280-281.

(6) See S. Kourouses, *EEBS* 41 (1974), 338-339, for calculations concerning his age.

(7) See D.M. Nicol, *DOP* 29 (1965), 249-256, for a biography of the man and a list of his writings, both published and unpublished; also, Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon*, no. 520, p. 49.

toward the Emperor's religious policies.¹

Constantine married Maria Komnene Tornikina² by whom he had six children³: Theodora (no. 15); an unnamed daughter who married Alexios Philanthropenos;⁴ another unnamed daughter who married the son of John II Komnenos of Trebizond;⁵ three unnamed sons: one who died at the age of fourteen;⁶ another, perhaps John (no. 16), and another, perhaps Andronikos (no. 17). Constantine mentions grandchildren in his will.⁷ At least one grandchild, Michael, the son of Philanthropenos and Constantine's daughter,⁸ is known. Constantine died between 1321 and 1324.⁹

11. Melchisedek Akropolites: George Akropolites' son, the monk Melchisedek, abbot of the monastery τῶν Σανίδων, was among the supporters of Philanthropenos, the husband of his niece, in his revolt against Andronikos II in 1296 in Asia Minor.¹⁰ It is quite probable that Melchisedek

(1) See Constantine's statement to this effect in Διαθήκη, ed. M. Treu, Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Εὐνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος 4 (1892), 48.

(2) D.M. Nicol, DOP 29 (1965), 250-251. See Kourouzes' argument for a date of 1278/9 for their marriage: EEBS 41 (1974), 339. See also no. 14.

(3) D.M. Nicol (op. cit., 253) states that Constantine had two daughters and one son but it is clear from Constantine's unpublished correspondence that he had three sons: cod. Ambros. H. 81 Sup., 293 r: ἐξαπλῆνης ἐπῆλθε μοι ἀγγελία περὶ τοῦ πρώτου μοι παιδὸς ἀρρενός, πρώτου λειψθέντος πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἄρρενα (ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἐξ ἡμῶν γέγονεν).

(4) Nicol, op. cit., 249-250.

(5) Ibid., 253.

(6) Ibid., 250. Cod. Ambrosianus H. 81 Sup., f. 285 r-v: ὁ γὰρ μοι πρῶτος τῶν παίδων | καὶ τῆς ἑμῆς ὡς ὤμην ἐπιστήμης διὰδοχος ... ὤχετο πρὸ ὥρας.

(7) Διαθήκη, ed. Treu, Δελτίον 4 (1892), 50.

(8) For Michael, see Planoudes' letter to Philanthropenos, ed. M. Treu, Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae (Breslau, 1890), 172-179; also S. Kourouzes, Μανουήλ Γαβάλας εἰσα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (Athens, 1972), 206-212.

(9) Nicol, op. cit., 253. Constantine is mentioned as present at the trial of Andronikos III in April 1321: Kantakouzenos I, 67-68; U.V. Bosch, Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos (Amsterdam, 1965), 17.

(10) Pachymeres II, 214, 11-13. The monastery τῶν Σανίδων has not been located. See also Nicol, op. cit., 249-250.

is the monastic name of Manuel Akropolites (no. 12). Melchisedek died in 1296, leaving Constantine the only surviving son of George.¹

12. Manuel Akropolites: He is a signatory of the tomos of 1285 against John Bekkos and bears the title ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων in that document as well as in another synodal act of 1277.²

13. Leo Akropolites: An imperial pittakion of 1295 addresses the doux of the theme of Serres and Strymon, Leo Akropolites, with reference to the property rights of the monastery of Vatopedi.³

14. Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa: A reference to her is made in the patriarchal document of 1351 which mentions the property in the Phanari district of Constantinople which she, her son-in-law Demetrios Kontostephanos and her unnamed daughter sold.⁴ She should probably be identified with Constantine Akropolites' wife, Maria Komnene Tornikina.⁵

15. Theodora Doukaina Akropolitissa: She is mentioned in a note in cod. Vat. gr. 307 (f. 228 v) where her marriage to Demetrios Komnenos Kontostephanos is recorded.⁶ Since a patriarchal document of 1351 states that

(1) Cod. Ambrosianus H. 81 Sup., 289 r: τεθνηκότα τὸν ἕνα μοι καὶ μόνον ἀδελφὸν ἔμαθον. In the same letter Constantine mentions the earthquake of 1 June 1296 (f. 288v-289r), also described by Pachymeres, II, 233, 9-11.

(2) V. Laurent, 'Les Signataires du second synode des Blakhernes', EO 26 (1927), 148. J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ de l'Eglise byzantine (Paris, 1970), 532, 533. Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, no. 522, pp. 49-50.

(3) For the text of the pittakion see M. Goudas, 'Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου', EEBS 3 (1926), 132-133. Dölger, Regesten no. 2181. See also L. Maksimović, Vizantijska Provintsijska uprava, 67, for a discussion of Leo's duties as doux.

(4) MM, I, 312; Polemis, Doukai, 83-84.

(5) See above 23 and note 2; also no. 15.

(6) Bybliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Vaticani Graeci, edd. I. Mercati, F. de' Cavalieri, I (Rome, 1923), 456. Polemis, Doukai, 84.

Demetrios Komnenos Kontostephanos was Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa's son-in-law (see no. 14), Theodora must be the daughter of Maria. Constantine Akropolites is known to have had a daughter Theodora to whom he left all his worldly possessions.¹ Thus the Theodora Doukaina Akropolitissa of the Vatican note is probably his daughter. She was still alive in 1351.²

16. John Komnenos Akropolites: His marriage to a Theodora Doukaina Philanthropene is noted in cod. Vat. gr. 307, along with the wedding of Theodora Doukaina Akropolitissa (no. 15).³ It is likely that John and Theodora are siblings and children of Constantine Akropolites.⁴

17. Andronikos Akropolites: A letter of Michael Gabras is addressed to this man (c. 1322)⁵ who is otherwise unattested. He could have been a son of Constantine Akropolites (no. 10).

(1) Διαθήκη, ed. Treu, Δελτικό 4 (1892), 48. L. Deubner, ed., Kosmas und Damian (Leipzig-Berlin, 1907), 198-199: I thank Dr. Michael Angold for this reference.

(2) That she was alive at that date can be inferred from the fact that the patriarchal document of 1351 does not refer to her as ἐκείνη as it does with respect to her mother and husband.

(3) See above, 24.

(4) Polemis, Doukai, 84.

(5) See G. Fatouros, Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (Vienna, 1973), I, 129; II, 450. Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, no. 517, p. 48.

Career

It was at the age of seventeen that George Akropolites chose to continue his education and thus effectively decided upon a civil career rather than a military one.¹ At Nicaea, as earlier in Constantinople, the education of a civil servant was of concern to the Emperor. John III Batatzes, to whose court Akropolites travelled from Constantinople in 1233,² took measures to ensure that his future officials receive adequate and proper training. Akropolites was one of a celebrated class of five who continued their studies under the patronage of the Emperor.³

During the Emperor John's reign Akropolites was engaged in three activities which he was to perform throughout his career, both in Nicaea and Constantinople: teaching, drafting of documents, and travelling in an ambassadorial capacity. Theodore II Laskaris, the son of the Emperor John, was Akropolites' first student, it seems. Knowledge of Akropolites' teaching duties derives from the History⁴ and from an encomium by Theodore in honour of his teacher.⁵ According to the latter source, Akropolites taught mathematics and logic.⁶ No precise date can be set for his teaching duties, although the 1240's, before Akropolites left Asia Minor

(1) History, § XXXII.

(2) For the date, see the commentary on § XXIX.

(3) The number of students in the group is constantly referred to in the sources: History, XXXII; Theodore II Laskaris, Encomium, ed. Markopoulos, EEBS 36 (1968), p. 115, 135-136; Nikephoros Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, ed. Helsenberg, 29, 7-9; idem., letter to the Patriarch Manuel, Epistulae, ed. Festa, 328, 92. One wonders whether they were not the first group of students officially placed in the hands of instructors by an Emperor at Nicaea.

(4) History, 131, 3-7.

(5) See the edition of the encomium by Markopoulos, op.cit., 110-118. Theodore also refers to Akropolites as his teacher in letters to his friend Mouzalon: Epistulae, ed. Festa, XXXIV:234, 3-4; XXXVI: 235, 1-2.

(6) Encomium, ed. Markopoulos, op.cit., p.117, 210-212; History, 131, 3-8.

to accompany the Emperor on campaign -- when Theodore was in his twenties -- would seem a plausible time.¹ Akropolites himself has this to say of the experience, 'I ... suffered much at the hands of his father for his sake.'² This may be an exaggerated statement in defence of his devotion to Theodore or, what would be more interesting, an indication of the Emperor John's exacting nature with regard to his son's education.

In 1246, after the Emperor John acquired enormous territorial gains in the Rhodope region and Macedonia, Akropolites was put in charge of drafting imperial letters for each of the new territories. Akropolites' mention of this work is his first reference to his chancery duties.³ It is possible too that his part in a delegation to Michael II Komnenos Doukas in 1252 was related to his work as a drafter of the treaty which was concluded on that occasion.⁴

What may have been Akropolites' first ambassadorial trip is mentioned in a letter by Theodore II to Akropolites in which he refers to the latter's journey to Constantinople.⁵ Theodore speaks of Akropolites' duties in the Latin-held city as those of a 'mediator'.⁶ Unfortunately it is not possible to date this trip nor to relate it to an event known from other sources. However, 1254 can certainly be set

(1) Markopoulos (EEBS 36 (1968), 106-107) dates Akropolites' assumption of teaching duties to 1246, citing the encomium (p. 115, 160-161) as evidence. However, there is nothing in any source to support this date. It is certain that the teaching, the edition of Theodore's letters made by Akropolites, and Theodore's encomium in gratitude to his teacher all date to before 1254, the year of Theodore's accession to the throne, and possibly to before 1252, since Akropolites was not in Asia Minor for long from 1252-1254. See the History 92,6 (in Thessaly, 1252); 97,8-9 (at Philippi, 1253); 101,19-21 (return to Asia Minor, winter of 1253/4).

(2) History, 131,3-4.

(3) History, 79, 1-7.

(4) History, 92,3-8.

(5) Epistulae, ed. Festa, XXXIV:109,5-9: ἡ σὴ πορεία ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταν-
τινου.

(6) op. cit., 109, 5-9: σὺ μεσῶων.

as a terminus ante quem.¹

Akropolites continued to be responsible for the drafting of documents under Theodore II,² although most of his time was taken up by the Emperor's military campaigns against the Bulgarians. Akropolites was travelling in Macedonia and Thrace with the Emperor at least from 1256 and did not return to Asia Minor until some time after Theodore's death (1258) and Michael Palaiologos' accession to the throne (1259). In the course of his second Bulgarian campaign, Theodore II named Akropolites praitor,³ thus making him the only member of his family to hold a military position. Either he was not particularly well-suited to his duties or he was particularly unfortunate for he was unable to prevent the enemy from taking the territory in his charge. He himself was imprisoned for several years.⁴

His release from prison was negotiated by Michael VIII early in his reign. Akropolites' activities under this, the third and last ruler he served are fairly well known; letters, documents and the narrative account of George Pachymeres are our sources.

Under Michael VIII Akropolites was sent on ambassadorial missions, the first to Bulgaria in the winter of 1260-1261⁵ and the last to Trebizond shortly before his death in 1282.⁶ However, his most celebrated diplomatic mission was to Lyons (1274), as part of a three-man delegation whose purpose it was to declare an end to the schism between the churches. There, as the only lay envoy of Michael VIII, he swore to accept the primacy of the Roman church and he pledged obedience to it on his own

(1) The letter was written before Theodore's accession to the throne. See Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera II, viii, note 1; Ch. Astruc, Travaux et Memoires 1 (1965), 397.

(2) History, §LXIII, esp. 130, 6-12.

(3) History, 139, 13-14.

(4) §LXVIII; §LXX; §LXXII.

(5) History, 175, 26-176, 9.

(6) Pachymeres, I, 521, 10-18.

behalf and that of the Emperor.¹

In Constantinople after 1261 Akropolites continued to exercise responsibility for the drafting of documents, as can be inferred from his signature on a chrysobull of 1277 for Chilandar.² As a member of the senate he assisted in judging cases brought before the imperial tribunal and the patriarchal synod.³

Akropolites' teaching activities are also attested for this period although the actual details -- where he taught and for what length of time -- are difficult to ascertain. George of Cyprus, later Patriarch Gregory (1283-1289), his student (the only one known by name), refers to him with highly adulatory words both in an oration he addressed to the Emperor Michael⁴ and in his autobiography.⁵ In his oration he gives the impression that Akropolites single-handedly saved learning from extinction.⁶ He claims that the Emperor Michael released Akropolites

(1) Pachymeres I, 384, 10-17 and ff.; 397, 19-398, 5. For the Latin text of Akropolites' statement see Lampros, *NH* 11 (1914), 119, 3 ff. . See now K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant I*, 112-119; esp. 117. D.M. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons, 1261-1274', *Medieval Studies* (Dublin, 1961), 454-480; D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders, and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)', *Studies in Church History* XIII (Oxford, 1976), 183-211. See also Wirth, *Regesten*, nos. 2006, 2008.

(2) *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit, *VV* 17 (1910), suppl. 1, 18-19; Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 2031. Note that the formula *διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου* does not necessarily imply that he acted as *mesazon*. It does, however, show that he was responsible for the proper execution of the document. see Angold, *Byzantine Government*, 156-158; Guiland, *REB* 29 (1971), 102; F. Dölger-Karayanopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, 37-38.

(3) Pachymeres I, 384, 15-16; 376, 18-377, 10. See the letter ascribed to Akropolites in which he mentions his judicial duties: *Opera* II, 67, 9; 66, 20-21. Angold, *Byzantine Government*, 72-74.

(4) Migne, *PG* CXLII, cols. 380 D-381 A. The oration is dated to 1270-1272; see J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos* (Paris, 1959), 35 and note 3.

(5) J.F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca* I (Paris, 1829), 352-353; see now W. Lameere, *La Tradition Manuscrite de la Correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre* (Brussels, Rome, 1937), 185, 5 ff. .

(6) *PG* CXLII, 381 A-B.

from his public duties in order to make this possible.¹ Akropolites taught George of Cyprus and others, who are not named, logic and rhetoric, and he explained Aristotle, Euclid and Nicomachus to them. George also says that Akropolites set his students essays to exercise their skill in rhetoric.²

However, apart from mentioning the curriculum he does not give specifics as, for instance, the number of students, or the place of instruction. Indeed, the picture of education after 1261 which George of Cyprus gives would seem to be largely encomiastic, designed to flatter the Emperor and Akropolites who may well have been in the audience when the oration was delivered. Certainly his expansive statement that Akropolites alone saved 'the seeds and sparks of learning',³ makes one suspect that this is the case. But there is more evidence for instruction in Constantinople after 1261 which must be considered before a decision can be reached concerning Akropolites' role as an educator.

Pachymeres relates a request which the Patriarch Germanos made of the Emperor Michael to appoint his protégé, the monk Manuel Holobolos to teach. The Patriarch is claimed to have said, 'the megas logothetes, George Akropolites, had been giving lessons by your command a long time, Emperor, and he is worn out now; it is necessary to appoint others, not least of all men of the church.'⁴ According to Pachymeres, the Emperor assented to the Patriarch's appeal and appointed Holobolos 'rhetor' (ῥήτωρ), providing both teacher and pupils with an income.⁵

(1) Autobiography, ed. Lameere, 185, 10-11: ἀνέησι τῶν δημοσίων προντίδων.

(2) Autobiography, ed. Lameere, 185, 12-27. Compare this with what he taught Theodore II Laskaris: νοεῖν τινα τὰ ἀφανῆ ὀργανικάως καὶ μαθηματικάως ἀποδείξει, καθὼς ἐδίδασκεν (Encomium for George Akropolites, ed. Markopoulos, EEBS 36 (1968), p. 117, 209-210).

(3) PG CXLII, 381 A.

(4) Pachymeres I, 283, 7-16.

(5) Pachymeres I, 283, 16-284, 15.

Holobolos was apparently assigned to teach in the school of the orphanotropheion, attached to the church of St. Paul.¹ His appointment can be dated to 1265/1266 since Germanos was Patriarch only for those years.²

Once it has been established that Holobolos taught from the mid-sixties of the thirteenth century, the question arises whether he relieved Akropolites of his teaching duties or merely assisted him. The words of the Patriarch -- 'Akropolites has been giving lessons ... a long time it is necessary to appoint others' -- give the impression that Holobolos was intended to replace Akropolites. If this is so, Akropolites would have been teaching only four to five years at most (1261-1265/6), hardly enough time to have accomplished much in the way of teaching, one would have thought.

However, George of Cyprus provides evidence that Akropolites did continue to teach. In his autobiography he states that he was twenty-six when he went to study with Akropolites.³ Since he was born in 1241/2,⁴ he would have begun his studies in 1267/8, at least one year after Holobolos' appointment.

Although Akropolites and Holobolos would appear to have taught at the same time, certain differences can be discerned in their teaching careers. From Pachymeres account it can be ascertained that Holobolos' appointment, like that of Akropolites, was made by the Emperor.

(1) The school of the orphanotropheion was refounded by Alexios I; see R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *B* 32 (1962), 174-177; Anna Comnena, Alexiade, ed. and trans. Leib, III, 217-218.; Fuchs, Die höheren Schulen, 57.

(2) See V. Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 143-144, for the date of his patriarchate.

(3) Autobiography, ed. Lameere, 187, 18-20.

(4) See J. Darrouzès, Dictionnaire de Spiritualité VI (Paris, 1965), cols. 922-923; H.-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur, 685. George of Cyprus says he was 17 when he left Cyprus for Asia Minor (Autobiography, 179, 19; 181, 1-2). The journey took six months (181, 25). He then spent some time following the army in its preparations for the siege at Galata (183, 4-5). Since these preparations lasted several months (see note below on 175, 2-4), Gregory must have been at least 18 by the time of the siege (1260), which gives him a birthdate of 1242.

However, Holobolos, a monk, was given the title of rhetor upon his appointment, a title belonging to the ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹ If Akropolites was given a title in connection with his teaching duties, it is not known. Furthermore, Pachymeres indicates that Holobolos was assigned to the school of the orphanotropheion at St. Paul's. There is no indication of Akropolites' place of instruction; it does not appear to have been the orphanotropheion.²

A further distinction in the teaching careers of the men can be drawn with respect to the level at which they gave instruction. The testimony of Constantine Akropolites, George's son, is valuable on this subject. In an unpublished oration for St. Euplos he states that he studied his enkyklios, or general education,³ at the church of Saints Peter and Paul.⁴ This church was St. Paul's to which the orphanotropheion was attached.⁵ A child usually studied at the enkyklios level from the ages of 10/11 - 17/18.⁶ Constantine would have been following

(1) The lemmata of Holobolos' orations addressed to Michael VIII attribute the title of ῥήτωρ τῶν ῥητόρων to him; see Treu, 51, 78. For this reason, among others, the orations should be redated from 1261 to 1265/1266 or later. — Note that although Holobolos held an ecclesiastical title and taught at St. Paul's, it is not correct to see in the school at St. Paul's a Patriarchal institution.

(2) It cannot be inferred from the Pachymeres passage that Akropolites also taught at the orphanotropheion.

(3) For the enkyklios, secondary or 'general' education, see my note on the History, 46, 14, and references.

(4) cod. Ambrosianus H. 81 Sup., 45v-46: ὁ γὰρ τοι σῆμας ἵνα γε ἡ σπουδὴ ἐφ' ἣ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον περιενδύσῃ, τῶν μὲν θεῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου τε καὶ Παύλου... τῇ κλήσει τετέλεται... καὶ λόγοις καὶ παιδείᾳ συλλήπτορας εὗρεῖν ἡντιβόλησα.

(5) See R. Janin, La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, III (Paris, 1969), 2nd edn., 399-400; R. Browning, B 32 (1962), 174-5.

(6) Lemerle, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin, 100 and references; George Akropolites was 16 when he completed his enkyklios; see the History, 46, 13-15.

this course of instruction in the mid to late 1260's.¹ Therefore, it can be assumed that the enkyklios was being taught at St. Paul's at that time, a period when Holobolos is known to have instructed there. Although Holobolos does not appear to have taught Constantine Akropolites,² there is some indication that he was giving instruction at the enkyklios level.

Again, Constantine Akropolites is the source. In a letter in which he mourns the death of a certain ὑπατος (τῶν φιλοσόφων ?) he says that the deceased had studied 'with the famous Holobolos and, after him, with my father in higher studies'.³ This statement implies a division of labour between the teachers. The hypatos studied with Holobolos and then graduated to Akropolites' tuition. If Akropolites gave instruction in 'higher studies', Holobolos presumably instructed at a lower level. Since George Akropolites himself uses the expression 'higher studies' to refer to his education beyond, or after, the enkyklios,⁴ one might infer that Holobolos was instructing at the enkyklios level.⁵

(1) The exact date of Constantine's birth is difficult to ascertain but see Kourouses' convincing arguments for a date of 1250-1255: EEBS 41 (1974), 338-340, esp. 340, note 1.

(2) Constantine does not address Holobolos as διδάσκαλος in any letter, published or unpublished, nor does he give any other indication that Holobolos taught him.

(3) Kourouses, EEBS 41 (1941), 337, note 2: cod. Ambr. H 81 sup. f. 318 r: ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐτράφη...καὶ παρ' οἷς τὰ τῆς παιδεύσεως ἐπεδείξατο...τοῖς περιδομένοις τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν σοφοῖς συγγενόμενος Ὀλοβῶλῳ τῷ πάνυ τῷ ἐμῷ τε πατρὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐφ' ὑψηλοτέροις μαθήμασι.

(4) History, 49,6-9, 49,23. Lemerle (Le Premier Humanisme, 100-101) states that the expression ὑψηλότερα μαθήματα often refers to the enkyklios which is 'higher education' in the sense that it goes beyond elementary education. However, his examples are from a period much earlier than the thirteenth century.

(5) Another indication that Holobolos was teaching subjects of the enkyklios can perhaps be seen in the fact that the school at St. Paul's is called γραμματικευομένων σχολήν (Pachymeres I, 284,6) and παιδευτήριον...τῶν γραμματικῶν (Anna Komnena, III, 217, 29). γραμματική was one of the subjects of the enkyklios and was even used as a synonym for the enkyklios by George Akropolites (History, 46,14-15); see also Lemerle op. cit., 101. However, it is not certain that this is the sense in which γραμματικευομένων and γραμματικῶν should be taken.

Although the actual subjects taught by Akropolites and Holobolos may not have differed,¹ they would have been presented at various levels of complexity and difficulty, depending on the age of the student. The age division between a student of the enkyklios and one continuing to higher education was about 17.² George of Cyprus says that he was 26 when he began his studies with Akropolites and he was the youngest in the class at that.³ Admittedly, the advanced age of Akropolites' students is striking and perhaps reflects the fact that they had not been able to study at an earlier age because no instruction was available to them. However, their ages would also seem to be an indication that they were studying at an advanced level that is, beyond the enkyklios.

Therefore, on the basis of the little evidence available, one can perhaps draw the following conclusions about education in the capital shortly after 1261. Holobolos taught at a secondary level in the orphantropheion of St. Paul's from 1265/6; Akropolites gave instruction in 'higher studies', perhaps from 1261 but certainly by 1265/6, in an undesignated place in Constantinople.⁴ Of course Akropolites and Holobolos may not have been alone in giving instruction but theirs are the only official appointments known⁵ and they can be seen in the broader context

(1) A great deal of confusion exists in terminology, caused by the lack of precision in the sources. However, I infer that the subjects taught at the enkyklios level and at the 'higher' level may have been similar, from the following example: Blemmydes says he studied his enkyklios at Nicaea; he later states that the subjects he studied at Nicaea were rhetoric and poetry (Curriculum vitae, 6,26-27; 55,8-9). Akropolites says that he studied these same subjects, poetry and rhetoric, when he went on to higher studies after his enkyklios education (History, 49,6-50,3).

(2) History, 49,6-23; Lemerle, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin, 100.

(3) Autobiography, ed. Lameere, 185.

(4) It would be incorrect to speak of an institution, such as a university.

(5) If Constantine Akropolites did not study with Holobolos at the orphantropheion (see above 32-3 & refs) then there must have been at least one other person teaching there in the late 1260's. It is certain that George Akropolites did not teach his son since Constantine says that he did not see his father every day when he was studying his enkyklios; see Λόγος ed. Delehaye, Analecta Bollandiana 51 (1933), 281, 6-8.

of Michael VIII's programme of restoration in the capital after its recovery.

The Patriarch Germanos' statement is more understandable in the light of the evidence presented above. For, if Akropolites alone had been responsible for all levels of instruction before Holobolos' appointment, he would surely have been 'worn out'¹ and in need of help by 1265/1266. Likewise, George of Cyprus' eulogistic phrase about Akropolites' role in the revival of education takes on a significance and validity. It can now be affirmed that his statement was not designed purely to flatter but was indeed based on fact. The evidence indicates that Akropolites taught alone for four to five years and even after that length of time was responsible for instructing at an advanced level. Unfortunately, the names and numbers of his students are not known and, therefore, his influence as a teacher cannot be adequately assessed. Nor do we know how long he taught. However, by the early 1270's his name appears again in connection with various administrative duties and activities. This is perhaps an indication that he had returned to the public duties from which the Emperor Michael had released him years earlier to free him for teaching.²

Akropolites' duties and functions have been described so far on the whole without reference to the titles he had or the stages by which he climbed to the highest office he held, that of megas logothetes. The fact that he attained to this position is well-known; however, the story of his cursus honorum is not.

(1) The Patriarch's statement has been interpreted as meaning that Akropolites was tired because he had grown old. See Treu, BZ 5 (1896), 543; Darrouzès, Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'Eglise byzantine (Paris, 1970), 110. The Patriarch's statement would truly be suspect if this interpretation of ἀποκεκαμήκει were correct since Akropolites was only in his 40's in the 1260's.

(2) Gregory says he was 33 when he ended his studies (ed. Lameere, 187, 18-20). If he began to study with Akropolites in 1267/8 (see above 31), he would have ended in 1274/5. However, it is not certain that Akropolites was his teacher for that entire period.

'Swift' and 'brilliant' are the words which have been used to characterise Akropolites' career.¹ He is thought to have held three titles, megas logariastes (c. 1239), logothetes tou genikou (c. 1246), and megas logothetes (c. 1255), the first title at the age of twenty-two, six years after his arrival in Asia Minor; the last, from the reign of Theodore II Laskaris, twenty-seven years before his death.²

On what evidence are these titles ascribed to Akropolites? Certainly not on anything Akropolites himself says. He mentions only the title of praetor which was a temporary appointment made on campaign. It is from documents and Pachymeres' narrative that Akropolites' title of megas logothetes is known. But for the other two titles there is absolutely no evidence apart from the ascriptions to two poems.

A poem on the death of the Empress Eirene (c. 1239)³ which bears the lemma στίχοι τοῦ μεγάλου λογαριαστοῦ was first attributed to Akropolites by Heisenberg who included it in his edition of the author's minor works.⁴ However, the name of the poet does not appear in the title. The attribution of the poem to Akropolites is based on a conjectured similarity in language in these verses and in another poem attributed to his authorship. The entire argument for attribution rests on the presence of the word Ἔδεμ, Eden, in both works.⁵ Although the new editor of the verses for Eirene, Höbrandner, criticised the weakness of Heisenberg's argument, he accepted his conclusions on the authorship without himself providing any more compelling argument.⁶

(1) R. Guillard, 'Les Logothètes', REB 29 (1971), 104.

(2) Guillard, JOB, 18 (1969), 112; idem, REB 29 (1971), 104; Angold, Byzantine Government, 164, 206; Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, 48.

(3) For the date of her death see the note on 64, 1-5.

(4) Opera II, xv and pp. 3-6.

(5) Opera II, xv and p. 6, 116; p. 7, 117.

(6) W. Höbrandner, BF 4 (1972), 96-98.

But there is more against this attribution than for it.

First, in no other source is Akropolites called megas logariastes. The letters of Theodore II Laskaris to Akropolites, written before his accession to the throne in 1254, as well as letters addressed to others, never refer to Akropolites in any other way than σοφός, φιλόσοφος.¹ This is also true of Theodore II's encomium of Akropolites.² Second, although Akropolites knew the Empress Eirene personally³ and could have been asked to write the poem upon her death, it is highly unlikely that at the age of twenty-two he would have held the title of megas logariastes, an important financial office in the twelfth century.⁴ Only one megas logariastes is attested for Nicaea, Demetrios Karykes, a man who was greatly esteemed for his learning⁵ and was often found in the company of the Emperor and the Empress.⁶ He could have been the author of the verses.

Thus, although Akropolites almost certainly did not hold the title of megas logariastes he must have had some title during the reign of the Emperor John Batatzes. As mentioned above, he served this Emperor by drafting imperial documents and accompanied him on campaign. It has been argued that Akropolites held the title of logothetes tou genikou when he was in charge of drafting letters to newly-acquired cities and towns (1246)⁷. Again, the only reference to Akropolites as logothetes

(1) Epistulae, ed. Festa, 67-116; p. 35,9-10.

(2) Markopoulos, EEBS,36 (1968), 110.

(3) See the History, § XXXIX.

(4) Guillard, JOB 18 (1969), 108-113; Oikonomides, Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976), 140-141.

(5) Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 55,15-18; Angold, Byzantine Government, 206. He is not included in Guillard's list of megaloí logariastai (JOB 18 (1969), 112.

(6) Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 55,11-15.

(7) History, 79,1-7; Heisenberg, Opera II, vii; Angold, Byzantine Government, 164.

tou genikou is the lemma of a poem written for an icon of the Theotokos on behalf of Nicholas Kaloeidas.¹ This lemma does mention Akropolites' name,² unlike the verses for Eirene. But the poem does not provide any clues for its dating. Therefore, those who have stated that Akropolites was logothetes tou genikou in 1246, the date at which he was engaged in chancery duties, have no evidence on which to base this assertion.

In fact, Akropolites tells us what he was called at that time. He says that after the death of Demetrios Tornikes (1246), the Emperor used in his service γραμματικοὺς ἀνώνυμοις and then names four men of whom he was one.³ As I have argued in the commentary (91, 2), the word ἀνώνυμος has the meaning of 'nameless', 'undistinguished', with the specific sense of 'untitled'. Akropolites would not have used this word to refer to himself or his fellow colleagues if they did indeed hold titles.

Therefore, Akropolites was certainly a grammatikos under the Emperor John. Akropolites' functions, as we know them, during this Emperor's reign, are in keeping with the duties of a secretary or grammatikos. Grammatikoi were highly regarded at Nicaea, as can be inferred from the correspondence of the Emperor Theodore II with grammatikoi to whom he addressed scholarly questions as well as matters of business.⁴

(1) Heisenberg, Opera II, 6-7. Only one Nicholas Kaloeidas is known to me, a signatory of a document of 1216, νομικός πόλεως Ἐφέσου: MM, VI, 176. For members of this large family see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 157-158; Angold, Byzantine Government, 269, 278.

(2) E. Rostagno-N. Festa, Codici greci Laurenziani meno noti, Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica II (1894); Cod. Laur. S. Marco, 303: στίχοι τοῦ λογοθέτου τῶν γενικῶν κυροῦ Γ <εωργίου? > τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου>.

(3) History, 91, 1-5.

(4) See Angold, Byzantine Government, 165 and note 97.

But, if Akropolites was a grammatikos in 1246 and later, when did he hold the title of logothetes tou genikou, a title which he does seem to have held even though the evidence for this is meagre?¹ I believe it can be shown that Akropolites most probably received his first titled office, perhaps that of logothetes tou genikou, in the reign of Theodore II; until that time he was a grammatikos.

Akropolites himself is the source for his first title. He describes the occasion on which Theodore II encamped at Lampsakos, upon returning from his first Bulgarian campaign (1255), and rewarded his men with dignities and offices. Akropolites complains that the men who were given titles at that time were unworthy and so he was distressed to be associated with them. But associated he was for, explains Akropolites, 'the Emperor changed my name too and did not allow 'Akropolites' to be pronounced without an addition'.² I understand this passage to mean that Akropolites received his first official title on this occasion. There is of course the possible interpretation of ἡλλοίωσε...τοῦνομα (124,17) as 'he changed my title' but the phrase οὐκ εἶασεν ἀσυνάπτως 'Ακροπολίτην κατονομαζέσθαι indicates that something was added to his name for the first time. The 'addition' could perhaps have been an honorific such as πᾶνσοφος or φιλόσοφος but these epithets had been attached to Akropolites' name earlier; they appear in Theodore Laskaris' correspondence dating to the period before his accession.³ Or perhaps the 'addition' was a word denoting Akropolites' relationship to the ruler, such as oikeios or adelphos, but this is unlikely because Akropolites is nowhere

(1) See above 37-38 and 38, note 2.

(2) History, 124,1-18; esp. 17-18.

(3) Epistulae, ed. Festa, 36,9; Encomium for Akropolites by Theodore II, ed. Markopoulos, EEBS 36 (1968), 110,3.

attested with these epithets and also because the titles which Theodore bestowed on other men at the time were not in this category.

If my interpretation of the above quoted passage is correct, Akropolites would have received his first title of office in 1255. Up to that time he may have been called a *διδάσκαλος*, as tutor to Theodore II, and a *grammatikos*, as secretary in the Emperor John's chancery, but neither of these were titles in the court hierarchy. Since we know of only two such titles which Akropolites held in his lifetime -- those of *logothetes tou genikou* and *megas logothetes* -- it would seem that he received that of *logothetes tou genikou* in 1255. In that case, his highest title, that of *megas logothetes* was yet to be bestowed on him. Although it is generally assumed that Akropolites was given this title in 1255,¹ and continued to hold it for the next 26 years under the following Emperor, Michael VIII, this assumption is based on the idea that Akropolites had already held other titles, such as *megas logariastes* and *logothetes tou genikou*. However, given the argument set forth above, it may be proposed that Akropolites was not made *megas logothetes* until the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos.

In the course of the expedition of 1256, which set out from Asia Minor a few months after Theodore II bestowed titles on Akropolites and others, Akropolites was imprisoned by Michael Komnenos Doukas. He was released from prison in 1259 by the troops of Michael Palaiologos, then the reigning Emperor. Michael VIII is known to have bestowed titles on various men upon their return from the battle of Pelagonia in the summer/autumn of 1259.² Akropolites could have received the title of *megas logothetes* at that time or, at any rate, upon his return from prison. It is unlikely that Akropolites could have served Michael VIII for 23 years all the while holding a title which had been bestowed on him by Theodore II. Such a situation is particularly unthinkable when one considers the Emperors involved.

(1) Guillard, *REB* 29 (1971), 104; Angold, *Byzantine Government*, 164.

(2) *History*, 172, 24-173, 18.

It remains to see how Akropolites' activities were related to the two titled offices he is known to have held, logothetes tou genikou and megas logothetes.

Previous to 1204 the title of logothetes tou genikou was associated with financial duties; its holder was originally in charge of the genikon or public treasury.¹ Akropolites is the only attested logothetes tou genikou at Nicaea² and there are no indications that he had any duties connected with the fisc. By the fourteenth century, the time of writing of Pseudo-Kodinos, this logothetes' function was unknown.³ Therefore, the specific function attached to this title in the thirteenth century is difficult to discover.

However, a certain pattern can be discerned in the careers of three men of the mid-thirteenth, early fourteenth centuries which may help to understand the function of the logothetes tou genikou: George Akropolites, Theodore Mouzalon, and Theodore Metochites. Each of these men was given the title of logothetes tou genikou before that of megas logothetes, the highest title they held.⁴ Furthermore, there is no easily discernible difference in their functions as logothetes tou genikou and megas logothetes. As mentioned earlier, George Akropolites performed the same functions throughout his career; these were chancery and ambassadorial duties. This is likewise true of the other men cited. It would seem, then, that the fiscal functions formerly connected with the title of logothetes tou genikou had become divorced from it in the course of the thirteenth century, if not earlier. Further, the title appears to have become a rung on the ladder to the position of megas logothetes.

(1) See N. Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 313-314.

(2) Guillard, REB 29 (1971), 20-24.

(3) Traité des Offices, ed. Verpeaux, 176, 15-16.

(4) See the biographical sketches of these men by Guillard, REB 29 (1971), 104-113.

The office of megas logothetes likewise underwent a transformation in this period and came to involve the duties which are attributed to holders of the title by Pseudo-Kodinos in the fourteenth century. According to the latter, the megas logothetes was responsible for imperial protagmata and chrysobulls for foreign powers.¹ In general, he was in charge of foreign affairs. It is precisely this function which Akropolites is known to have fulfilled, while his predecessor at Nicaea, John Strategopoulos, had judicial powers and even his own court, as did holders of the title in the twelfth century.² George Akropolites, then, can be said to be the first megas logothetes to fulfil the function of a 'minister of foreign affairs', a function by which the megaloi logothetai of the fourteenth century were known.

On the basis of the suggestions made above Akropolites' revised curriculum vitae should read:

1240's to 1255	tutor to Theodore II and <u>grammatikos</u>
1255-1259/1260	<u>logothetes tou genikou</u>
1256-1257	<u>praitor</u>
1259/1260 to 1282	<u>megas logothetes</u>

(1) Traité des Offices, ed. Verpeaux, 174, 1-7; I. Ševčenko, Études sur la Polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos (Brussels, 1962), 6-7, note 4.

(2) *MM*, IV, 290-295; Guillard, *REB* 29 (1971), 104; Angold, Byzantine Government, 149, 166-167, 170 and note 111. For previous holders of this title, see Oikonomides, Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976), 132-133 and note 42; P. Lemerle, 'Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IV^e croisade d'après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra', *REB* 19 (1961), 263-264. — It is true that Akropolites exercised judicial powers in Constantinople after 1261 but these powers seem to have been his by virtue of his membership in the senate and not to have been connected with his office of megas logothetes; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 72-73, 167, and *supra*, 29.

Minor Works

George Akropolites' writings cover a range of subjects, both secular and religious. The works of a religious or theological nature outnumber the others but this may be a result of the loss of manuscripts and not a reflection of the author's interests. Certainly, all of Akropolites' written work does not survive; he himself mentions two pieces, prayers for the entry into Constantinople in 1261, and an oration in honour of Michael VIII, which are not otherwise known. It is always possible, however, that these works are extant in some manuscript collection but have been catalogued incorrectly, or not at all.

Of the few secular pieces by Akropolites which we have, the earliest is his funeral oration for the Emperor John Batatzes (1254). A comparison of the themes and language of the funeral oration, addressed to the senate,¹ and Akropolites' comments on the Emperor, expressed in his History, reveals some interesting differences² which can be attributed to their respective genres.³ The verses for the tomb of the Empress Eirene (c.1239), ascribed to Akropolites' authorship first by Heisenberg and now by their new editor, Høbrandner, should no longer be attributed to him, for reasons I have given elsewhere.⁴

Apart from Akropolites' prefatory verses to the edition of Theodore's letters for which he was responsible, there are no other written works addressed to, or in honour of, Theodore II, to whom Akropolites was a tutor and advisor. It is particularly disappointing that none of Akropolites' letters to the Emperor seems to have survived. The only

(1) Heisenberg, Opera II, 14, 1: ὡ σέμνη γέροντα ; See M. Angold, Byzantine Government, 73-74.

(2) See the commentary on 103,19-23; 104,10-18.

(3) Michael Psellos specifically states that he varied the contents of his works to suit the genre: Chronographia, ed. and trans. E. Renaud (Paris, 1926), 129,6-130,7.

(4) See above 36-37.

letter by Akropolites which we have is addressed to the sebastokrator John Tornikes; in it Akropolites mentions his teaching duties in Constantinople after 1261.

Didactic works which could have been inspired by Akropolites' teaching duties are also scarce. The sixteenth century copy of a Lexicon attributed to him may be the only work of this kind.

Writings of a religious nature by Akropolites were, in some cases, commissioned as can be ascertained from Akropolites' remarks in the texts of these pieces.¹ It was the educated man's expertise in skilful expression which was sought after in such cases. Certainly the tracts on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and the interpretation of a work by Gregory Nazianzenos have as much to do with the use of logic as they do with theology. Other pieces may have been written in connection with Akropolites' participation in the Council of Lyons, although there is nothing in the works themselves to substantiate this hypothesis.

George's encomium for St. George, mentioned by his son Constantine in a letter but not known to have survived until now, is perhaps the only surprise in the catalogue of his minor works. It is not possible to know whether he wrote more in this genre for which Constantine is famous.²

The following list contains additions to and subtractions from the works published by A. Heisenberg (Opera II).³

(1) Heisenberg, Opera II, p. 7, 15-16; p. 70, 5-18.

(2) On this see D.M. Nicol, DOP 29 (1965), 249, 254-256.

(3) For reviews of this volume see K. Praechter in BZ 13 (1904), 52'-531; K. Horna, 'Analekten zur byzantinischen Literatur', Jahresbericht des K.K. Sophien-gymnasium in Wien für das Schuljahr 1904/1905 (Vienna, 1905), 17-28; S. Bases, 'Τῶν εἰς Γεώργιον Ἀκροπολίτην Διορθωτικῶν Ἐπιμετρώων', Βυζαντινὰ 2 (1912), 455-456; Ch. Charitonides, 'Σύμμικτα κριτικά', Ἐπιστιμονικὴ Ἐπετῆρις τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς 1 (Thessalonike, 1927), 85-87. A. Heisenberg answers his critics in BZ 14 (1905), 306-309.

Published Works

- (1) Verses for an icon of the Theotokos (Heisenberg, 6-7): Written c. 1255 (?). See above 37-38 for a discussion of the poem.
- (2) Prefatory verses written for Akropolites' edition of Theodore II's letters (Heisenberg, 7-9): The edition is thought to have been made c. 1250-1252.¹ Theodore II's encomium of Akropolites, thanking him for the edition, echoes certain phrases which appear in Akropolites' metrical preface.²
- (3) Epitaphios³ for the Emperor John Batatzes (Heisenberg, 12-29): See the commentary on 103,19-23; 104,10-18.
- (4) Two tracts on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Heisenberg, 30-66): If the lemma is to be believed,⁴ these were written while Akropolites was in prison in Arta (1257-1259). In these works he argues against the use of the filioque formula.⁵
- (5) Letter to John Tornikes (Heisenberg, 67-69): Written after 1261, it is the only letter by Akropolites which survives.⁶

(1) For the date see A. Heisenberg's review of Epistulae, ed. Festa, in BZ 9 (1900), 213-214; also, A. Markopoulos, EEBS 36 (1968), 107 and note 3.

(2) A. Markopoulos, op. cit., 110, 4-5; 111, 39; 116, 185-186.

(3) For analyses of the epitaphios see V. Valdenberg, 'Notes sur l'oraison funèbre de G. Acropolite', BZ 30 (1929-1930), 91-95; K. Praechter, 'Zur Geschichte der Regenwunderlegende in byzantinischen Zeit', BZ 14 (1905), 258-259; idem., 'Antikes in der Grabrede des Georgios Akropolites auf Johannes Dukas', BZ 14 (1905), 479-491.

(4) Opera II, 30: λόγος κατὰ Λατίνων, γραφείς αὐτῷ ὅτε ἐν τῇ δούσει κατὰσχεται ἦν.

(5) See H.-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959), 675. For a different point of view on the tracts see now D.J. Geanakoplos, 'Bonaventura, the Two Mendicant Orders, and the Greeks at the Council of Lyons (1274)', Studies in Church History XIII (Oxford, 1976), 194.

(6) See K. Praechter, BZ 13 (1904), 527, who gives reasons in support of Heisenberg's attribution of the letter to Akropolites. For John Tornikes, doux of the Thrakesion in 1258, see MM, IV, 73-74.

(6) An interpretation (ἑρμηνεία) of Gregory Nazianzenos' Or. XXIX (Heisenberg, 70-80): This work, addressed to a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,¹ was written late in Akropolites' life. He refers to Blemmydes as ἑκείνους which makes the terminus post quem for the work c. 1272.²

(7) Encomium of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Heisenberg, 81-111): Heisenberg enigmatically dates the encomium to 1274, the time of Akropolites' trip to the council of Lyons, and claims that Akropolites wrote it for Marinos, Archbishop of Ebohi.³ These statements appear to be without foundation.⁴

Unpublished Works

Encomium of St. George: In a letter written in response to a request made by a friend, Constantine Akropolites mentions his father's encomium of St. George and says that it is not available to him.⁵ This work can be identified with a manuscript in the Lavra monastery.⁶

(1) Opera II, 70,5-6: σεβασμιώτατε μοι κεφαλή.

(2) op. cit., 71,2. For the date of Blemmydes' death, shortly after the visit paid him by the Patriarch Joseph, see Pachymeres I, 339,12-342,15; also, V. Laurent, Regestes, no. 1391. For a discussion of the contents of the work see J. Dräseke, 'Neuplatonisches in des Gregorios von Nazianz Trinitätslehre', BZ 15 (1906), 156-158.

(3) Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera II, xxi.

(4) See D.J. Geanakoplos, Studies in Church History XIII (1976), 193-194, who suggests that Akropolites may have written the work on his return to Constantinople in order to support the unionist policy among the Greeks.

(5) Epistula 96, ed. Delehaye, Analecta Bollandiana 51 (1933), 274-275.

(6) Spyridon of Laura - S. Eustratiades, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos (Cambridge, 1925), 46-47, no. 339 (1303), f. 213 r: Τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου ἑγκώμιον καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου.

Lost Works

(1) Thirteen prayers, written for the entry into Constantinople on 15 August 1261: See the commentary on 186, 7-17; 186, 18-28.

(2) An oration for the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos: In his History, Akropolites says that he wrote an oration in honour of the Emperor in which he put forth the suggestion that Michael's son Andronikos should be proclaimed Emperor along with his father. See the commentary on 188, 19-28; 188, 28-29; 189, 5-8.

Works of uncertain attribution

(1) Verses for the tomb of the Empress Eirene Komnene (Heisenberg, 3-6): Written c. 1239. See the argument above 36-37 against the attribution of these verses to George Akropolites.¹ For a new edition, with commentary, see W. HBrandner, BF 4 (1972), 88-98.

(2) Sticheron for Holy Saturday (Heisenberg, 9-11): Heisenberg assumed that this was a work by Akropolites because of the lemma which reads: ποιηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου τοῦ Ἀκροπολί- τοῦ.

K. Praechter has suggested that the sticheron is by Constantine Akropolites,² an attribution which also meets the description of the lemma. However, a sixteenth century manuscript in the British Museum³ attributes the verses to Nikephoros Blemmydes and so the authorship is open to question.

(1) Doubts about Heisenberg's attribution were expressed by Praechter, BZ 13 (1904), 526 and K. Horna, 'Analekten', Jahresbericht des KK Sophiengymnasiums in Wien für das Schuljahr 1904/1905, 18.

(2) Praechter, BZ 13 (1904), 526-527.

(3) See Heisenberg, Opera II, 9, critical apparatus.

(3) Lexicon in political verse: A manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (suppl. gr. 1089, ff. 131, line 9 - 131 v) attributes this work to George Akropolites. The same lexicon is found in another manuscript but without the name of an author attached to it.¹

(1) Catalogue des manuscrits grecs, Le Supplément Grec, edd. C. Astruc - M.L. Concasty, III, 3 (Paris, 1960), 209; E. Miller, 'Lexiques grecs inédits,' Annuaire de l'Association des études grecques 8 (1874), 253.

The History

The History of George Akropolites, the work for which he is best known, survives in fourteen manuscripts, the greater number of which date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹ A. Heisenberg's edition of 1903 is based on the thirteen manuscripts known to him, of which the oldest is a thirteenth century codex² containing the historical works of Manasses, Niketas Choniates and Kinnamos.³ However, as recently as 1976, another manuscript came to light in England which was unknown to editors of the text. The manuscript, which was part of the Sir Thomas Phillipps Collection, dates to the early fourteenth century. Thus, it is perhaps the second oldest copy of the History.⁴ This manuscript was described in Sotheby's sales catalogue⁵ as containing 'variants from the text printed by A. Heisenberg'. However, on closer

(1) For a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the text see Heisenberg's preparatory studies for his edition: 'Studien zur Textgeschichte des Georgios Akropolites', Programm des kgl. humanistischen Gymnasiums zu Landau (1894), 5-55; 'Zwei wiedergefundene Handschriften des Georgios Akropolites', Eranos 2 (1897), 117-124; 'Studien zu Georgios Akropolites', Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer-Akademie der Wissenschaften der philosophisch-philologischen Classe (1899), 463-557; 'Analecta', Programm des K. Luitpold-Gymnasiums in München (1901) 5-16; 'Prolegomena', Georgii Acropolitae Opera I (Leipzig, 1903), iii-xxiv.

(2) The oldest surviving copy of the History, a thirteenth century manuscript (cod. Vat. gr. 163), was incorrectly dated to the fourteenth century by Heisenberg: 'Prolegomena', Opera I, iv, see G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, 266, and J.-L. van Dieten, Nicetae Choniatae Historia, xxiii.

(3) John Chortasmenos, notary of the Patriarchate in the fourteenth century, owned the manuscript. See van Dieten, op. cit., xxv.

(4) The manuscript, dated to the first half of the fourteenth century by the watermark, was auctioned at Sotheby's on 28 June 1976. It is now in the hands of a London bookseller.

(5) Sotheby's catalogue, Bibliotheca Phillipica (28 June 1976), no. 3865.

examination the only variants noticed were found to be scribal errors and not to constitute a different textual tradition from the already established one. Therefore, the edition by Heisenberg, which includes a shorter version of the History, Ποίημα Χρονικὸν Ἡμιτελές, written after Akropolites' lifetime,¹ as well as additions to the History, extracted from the work ascribed to Theodore Skoutariotes,² still stands as a reliable and trustworthy work.³

The History, which begins and ends with events in Constantinople and covers the period 1203-1261, is a political history of the so-called Empire of Nicaea and as such constitutes the only contemporary narrative Greek source for that period. The work overlaps the histories of Niketas Choniates and George Pachymeres who deal in greater detail with the first and last three years covered by Akropolites. Although the History has been characterised as objective and reliable⁴ and this judgement is generally accepted, little attention has been directed to the method of its composition, its sources, its accuracy and, above all, the attitudes expressed in it. A study of these problems can contribute to a more accurate assessment of the historical value of the work.

Akropolites' narrative begins some fourteen years before he was born and relates the events of another sixteen years during which time the author was growing up in Constantinople and had not yet gone to Asia Minor. For

(1) Heisenberg, Opera I, 193-274, and xix-xxii; idem., Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer-Akademie der Wissenschaften, 544-557.

(2) Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam in Opera I, ed. A. Heisenberg, 277-302. See infra 55-61 for a discussion of Skoutariotes' History.

(3) See Ch. Charitonides, 'Σύμμικτα Κριτικά', 'Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς' 1 (Thessalonike, 1927), 85-87, for a review of the edition; also, K. Praechter in BZ 13 (1904), 180-190. A Teubner reprint of Heisenberg's edition, with an introduction and corrections by P. Wirth, is in press.

(4) See G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, 266; N. Iorga, 'Médaillons d'histoire littéraire byzantine', B 2 (1925), 286-287; K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur, 286-288; M.E. Colonna, Gli Storici Bizantini dal IV al XV Secolo (Naples, 1956), 1-3; M. Andreeva, Ocherki, 12-13; A. Gardner, The Laskarids, 282 ff.

these thirty years (1203-1233)¹ Akropolites was obviously dependent on a source or sources for his material. It is generally assumed that Choniates' History was his source. This idea can be shown to be misconceived and without any basis, although it is true that Choniates' History may have been available to Akropolites, both in Asia Minor and in Constantinople, where Akropolites most probably wrote his History.²

Thanks to J.-L. van Dieten, Choniates' movements after 1204 and the stages in the writing of his History can be ascertained precisely. It is apparent that the historian continued and revised the work at Nicaea where he lived the last years of his life, writing orations at the court of Theodore I Laskaris.³ Therefore, a version of his History should have been available to Akropolites in Asia Minor. Furthermore, a firm terminus ante quem can be given for the existence of the Choniates History in Constantinople: 1391, the year in which Chortasmenos bought a manuscript containing the History, cod. Vat. gr. 163 (13th century).⁴ Of course this date is nearly one hundred years after the death of Akropolites and does not prove that the manuscript was in Constantinople at the time of his writing. However, it is probable that a version of the History was in Constantinople by 1206,⁵ if not a few years after 1261.

(1) i.e., pp. 4-47 of the Heisenberg edition of the History.

(2) Unfortunately, there is no means of assigning a precise date to the writing of the History. However, the fact that it is written from the point of view of the victorious party (Nicaea v.s. Epiros/Thessaly) would seem to indicate that it was set down in writing after 1261 in Constantinople. The incomplete state of the work could be used as an argument in favour of a late date for its composition, i.e., close to Akropolites' death in 1282. See Heisenberg's comments on the way the History ends: in 'Studien zu Georgios Akropolites', 465. Likewise, another indication of a late date might be the lack of revision evident in passages where Akropolites says he has mentioned something already and he has not. See, e.g. 29,5-6; 134, 10-12; 157,21-22 and notes on those passages.

(3) J.L. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, xcix and ff.; *idem*, 'Noch einmal über Niketas Choniates', BZ 57 (1964), 302-328.

(4) See 49 note 2.

(5) This is the opinion of J.-L. van Dieten, expressed in a letter to me (December 1974). See also H. Grégoire, 'Un continuateur du Constantin I^{er} - nasses et sa source', Mélanges Schlumberger I (Paris, 1924), 272-281, esp. 280.

Choniates' History, then, would seem to have been available to Akropolites. In any case, Akropolites is likely to have known of it. Yet his History shows no trace of his having used Choniates' work. This is obvious from a comparison of the passages in which both authors deal with the same events. In these, there are no points of contact, either in general conception of the presentation of material or on specific points. A striking example is the date of the fall of Constantinople; Akropolites is off by one year. This kind of error betrays a dependence on memory or hearsay rather than on a written source.¹ Other equally striking differences in accounts can be seen in the authors' handling of the events leading to the conquest of the capital by the Latins and in their descriptions of Isaac II's Bulgarian campaign of 1190.² Since Choniates' History is the only known contemporary narrative account which deals with the early period Akropolites covers and yet does not appear to have influenced Akropolites' account of events, we can only conclude that he employed another or other written accounts which have not survived.³ However, the possibility that he was dependent on oral accounts cannot be excluded.

Although Akropolites' functions as a diplomat and drafter of imperial documents gave him access to official documents and first-hand information, it is nowhere apparent in his History that he is paraphrasing or quoting an official document or speech. However, it should

(1) See the History, 7,22-24 and commentary on that passage.

(2) See the commentary on pp. 4-8 of the History and on 19,23-20,7.

(3) There is evidence from other sources of narrative accounts which were available to contemporaries but have not survived: Anna Komnena, Alexiade, III, 175-176; Eustathios, Oration for Manuel Komnenos, ed. W.G.L. Tafel, Eustathii Opuscula (Frankfurt, 1832), 207,41-42; 210. An oration by Euthymios Tornikes refers to letters sent by the Emperor Isaac II while on campaign to his functionaries and dignitaries in Constantinople to inform them of the outcome of the campaign; see J. Darrouzès, REB 26 (1968), 100-101, and notes 9 and 10. Letters of this sort may have been Akropolites' source for events before his lifetime; see the commentary on X c. 17,16 and P. Wirth 'Die Sprachliche Situation in dem Umrissenen Zeitalter', XVe Congrès International d'Etudes byzantines, Rapports et Co-Rapports (Athens, 1976), 36.

be pointed out that the lack of surviving documents makes substantiation or negation of this statement difficult. Also, neither Akropolites' diplomatic mission to Constantinople during the reign of the Emperor John Batatzes,¹ nor his imprisonment in Arta for two years seems to have contributed in any obvious way to the narrative of his History.

The reliability and accuracy of his account can be ascertained in cases where other contemporary sources survive. On the whole, discrepancies, where they exist, are not great.² In recording an event at which he was not present, or describing something he did not know about personally, he is careful to point out that he has his information from others who were eyewitnesses.³ He is least accurate and informed concerning Latin affairs. This is clear from his narration of events which took place before and during his lifetime.⁴

As I have tried to show in the commentary, Akropolites' reliability extends to his attribution of personal titles which he makes appropriate to the time of the event he is describing and not to the time of his own writing. Thus, Akropolites says of Nikephoros Tarchaneotes that he was epi tes trapezes at the time of the event he is recounting but that he became megas domestikos later.⁵ He is likewise historically accurate about the title of Despot ascribed to the Doge Dandolo,⁶ that of King of Thessalonike given to Boniface of Mont-

(1) See supra, 27-28 and refs.

(2) See on 85, 11-22 and §XLVIII.

(3) See, e.g., 153, 9-10, 17-18. Akropolites was in prison in Arta at the time.

(4) See the commentary on, e.g., 13, 7-10; 44, 21-25; 44, 25-45, 3; 85, 11-22; 86, 24-87, 4.

(5) History, 55, 15-17.

(6) See note on 13, 7-10.

ferrat,¹ and the epithet of Megas Komnenos ascribed to Alexios Komnenos of Trebizond.²

While it is not possible to identify a written source for the History, the work itself served as a source for four later writers of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They are, respectively, the anonymous author of the Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς, a history from the creation of the world to 1261 published by K.N. Sathas, whose author was identified by Heisenberg as Theodore Skoutariotes, Metropolitan of Cyzicus;³ the monk Ephraim,⁴ whose verse chronicle covers the Roman and Byzantine Empires to 1261; Nikephoros Gregoras whose history deals with the years 1204-1359;⁵ the Metropolitan of Monembasia, Makarios Melissenos, whose work is attributed to George Sphrantzes.⁶

(1) History, 13, 11-14.

(2) History, 12, 13-17. See also the case of the title of Despot ascribed to Michael II Komnenos Doukas: 88, 15-17.

(3) K.N. Sathas, 'Ἀνωνύμου Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς', Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, VIII (Paris, 1894). See below 55-58 for a discussion of this attribution. Skoutariotes is known for his library of books, wide-ranging in subject. See N.G. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', Byzantine Books and Bookmen, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium, 1971 (Washington, D.C., 1975), 8, who lists Marc.gr. 450 (Photios' Bibliotheca), Par. gr. 1234 (works by the Choniates brothers), Par. gr. 1741 (Aristotle's works, et alia).

(4) Chronographia, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1840). See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica I, 256-257; Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera I, xvii. For a discussion of Ephraim's sources and his methods as a writer see now O. Lampsidis, Beiträge zum byzantinischen Chronisten Ephraem und seiner Chronik, 29; 42-51.

(5) Historia, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1829). See now the translation and commentary by J.-L. van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomaische Geschichte, esp. 41-42 for Gregoras' use of Akropolites' History; Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, I, 451.

(6) Georgios Sphrantzes Memoria 1401-1477, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1966). V. Grecu, 'Georgios Sphrantzes', BS 26 (1965), 67-68. See also the commentary on Akropolites' prooimion, § I.

Although it is evident that Ephraim, Gregoras and Melissenos, or Pseudo-Sphrantzes as he is called, are indebted to Akropolites' History, their debt is not as obvious as that of the author of the Synopsis who is considered a plagiarist and paraphraser of Akropolites' work. Heisenberg, did however recognise the independent value of the Synopsis as a source for the period covered by Akropolites' History and published the additions to the History as a supplement to his edition of that work.¹ But he did not there record a great many variants which exist² nor did he note the passages where the author of the Synopsis failed to include statements contained in Akropolites' work. These omissions result in an incomplete assessment of the nature of the Synopsis and of the relationship of this work with Akropolites' History. Identification of the author of the Synopsis and knowledge of his career can lead to an understanding of the differences which exist between his work and that of Akropolites, his source.

Heisenberg's attribution of the authorship of the Synopsis to Theodore Skoutariotes is based on two pieces of evidence: a sixteenth century note in a manuscript (cod. Athous 3758) by an abbot of the monastery of Dionysiou, saying that Theodore of Cyzicus wrote a chronicle which starts with the creation of the world and ends with the reign of Michael Palaiologos; a note in a manuscript which contains the Synopsis (cod. Marc. 407) claiming ἡ βιβλος ἥδε Κυζίκου Θεοδώρου, Σκουταριωτῶν ἐκ φυλῆς κατηγμένου.³

(1) Additamenta in Opera I, 277-302.

(2) A list of differences was published in Heisenberg's 'Studien zu Georgios Akropolites', Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer-Akademie der Wissenschaften (1899), 516-526.

(3) See Heisenberg's review of Sathas' edition of the Synopsis in BZ 5 (1896), 182-185; idem, 'Analecta', Programm des K. Luitpold-Gymnasiums in München (1901), 12-16.

Further evidence for the identification of the author of the Synopsis can be found in the few autobiographical insertions which it contains. In one such passage the author claims that his knowledge of a particular event derives from the Patriarch Arsenios.¹ Elsewhere he says that he was a friend of the same Patriarch and was his companion night and day.² These references would seem to indicate that the author was a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Furthermore, certain details he gives in his account of Theodore II's campaign of 1256 which are not found in Akropolites' History, indicate that he was present and was perhaps part of the Patriarch's entourage which had assembled in Thessalonike for the wedding of Theodore II's daughter to the son of Michael II Komnenos Doukas.³ That the Patriarch performed the wedding is known only from the author of the Synopsis but his presence in Thessalonike is corroborated by two other sources, an unpublished letter (1256) of the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, Manuel Disypatos,⁵ and an act (1257) of Mt. Athos,⁶ both of which state that the Patriarch had with him a

(1) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 534, 18-19; Heisenberg, Additamenta, no. 51, p. 296.

(2) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 549, 28 ff. ; Heisenberg, Additamenta, no. 56, p. 301, 1 ff.

(3) For the differences in the accounts see the History, § LXI and pp. 132, 30-134, 6. Additamenta, no. 42, p. 293; no. 43; nos. 44-47, p. 294; nos. 48-49, p. 295.

(4) Additamenta, no. 46, p. 294; Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 527, 6.

(5) V. Laurent, Regestes, no. 1332, pp. 137-139. Parts of the letter are published by Laurent in 'Le Pape Alexandre IV (1254-1261) et l'Empire de Nicée', EO 34 (1935), 26-55. See the commentary on 139, 25-140, 2.

(6) P. Lemerle, Actes de Kutlurus (Paris, 1946), pp. 37-40.

number of bishops. The specificity and precision with regard to dates which the author of the Synopsis adds to Akropolites' account indicates that he was present.¹ Since he claimed to know the Patriarch well it would not be surprising if he were a member of the party which accompanied Arsenios from Asia Minor to Thessalonike.

The autobiographical information given by the author of the Synopsis indicates an ecclesiastical affiliation for the author which is in keeping with what is known of Theodore Skoutariotes.

The first documents pertaining to his career date to 1270. By an horismos of that year the Emperor Michael Palaiologos conferred the office of dikaiophylax on the ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων and deacon Theodore Skoutariotes.² In the same month and year the Emperor sent a protagma to the Patriarch confirming the appointment.³ The protagma gives the impression that there was some difficulty in the church hierarchy over Skoutariotes' appointment.⁴ Can one presume that the difficulty lay in Skoutariotes' pro-Arsenite affiliations up to the time of his appointment?

Sometime after 1277 Skoutariotes was made Metropolitan of Cyzicus. The Emperor Michael VIII conferred the honorary title of hypertimos on him as Metropolitan of Cyzicus and ordained that he should have all the attendant honours.⁵ As Metropolitan, Theodore went on an embassy to the

(1) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 525, 2-5 = Heisenberg, Addimenta, no. 43; Synopsis, 526, 22-23; 526, 27-28 = Addimenta, no. 44; Synopsis, 529, 9-10. See Heisenberg's 'Studien zu Georgios Akropolites', Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer-Akademie der Wissenschaften (1899), 526-527.

(2) MM, V, 246-247; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1972.

(3) MM, V, 247-248; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1973.

(4) See J. Darrouzès, Recherches sur les ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ de l'Eglise byzantine (Paris, 1970), 109.

(5) For the protagma see MM, V, 248-249. The editors assigned a date of inter 1275-1282 to this undated document but the terminus post quem must be altered to 1277/8 because Skoutariotes was dikaiophylax in 1277, and not Metropolitan, according to a synodal list of that year. See Darrouzès, op. cit., 532.

papal curia which was sent by Michael VIII.¹ He kept his position until 1282, when he was deposed by a synod which met in the church of the Blachernai after Michael VIII's death. It was the Arsenites present at the synodal meeting who were particularly keen to see him deposed.²

Thus, although the ecclesiastical careers of Skoutariotes and the author of the Synopsis would seem to be a point in favour of ascribing the authorship of the Synopsis to Skoutariotes, the fact that Skoutariotes appears to have prospered as an anti-Arsenite makes it difficult to attribute an obviously pro-Arsenite work to him. However, Skoutariotes may have written the Synopsis after his deposition in 1282 when he would have been free to express his feelings on the subject without putting himself in a difficult position. Likewise, it is possible that Skoutariotes wrote the Synopsis at this late date in his life in an effort to redeem himself in the eyes of the Arsenites. In any case, the closing words of the author of the Synopsis indicate that it is the work of a man advanced in age.³

The plausibility of Heisenberg's identification of Skoutariotes with the author of the Synopsis is weakened by the facts of Skoutariotes' career -- something which escaped Heisenberg's attention.⁴ However, the Synopsis

(1) The embassy is generally dated to 1277 (see W. Norden, Das Pansttum und Byzanz (Berlin, 1903), 578) but Michael VIII's letter to the Pope, announcing the embassy, is undated. In this letter Michael refers to Skoutariotes as Metropolitae Kisicensi Ypertime et exarcho totius Elispontis Theodoro: J. Gay, ed., Les Registres de Nicolas III, Supplement (Paris, 1938), 77. See supra p. 57 note 5.

(2) Pachymeres, II, 52, 5-54,12; esp. 52, 5-11; 53,7-54,9.

(3) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 555, 25-556,3: ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ... καὶ τὸ σῶμα ναρκᾷ...ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ...ἀκινητίζει πρὸς τὴν γραφήν.

(4) Heisenberg's attribution was questioned by A.P. Každan who does not, however, bring new material to bear on the problem. See 'Ekserpti Skilitsi' Izvestiia na Instituta za Istorifa(=Bulletin de l'Institut d'Histoire)14-15 (1964), 529-530. Because the attribution is generally accepted (see Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 526-528), to avoid confusion, I have referred to Skoutariotes whenever quoting the Synopsis in the commentary.

remains a valuable source in its own right. The differences which exist between the Synopsis and Akropolites' History, which are of three kinds, are important in themselves and constitute the contributions of an independent source and not of a mere paraphraser. First, there are the minor differences of language or expression. The author of the Synopsis is in these cases less archaizing than Akropolites. For example, while Akropolites calls John Kantakouzenos epi tou keras-ratos, the Synopsis calls him a pinkernes, the more colloquial name for the same title.¹ Where Akropolites says that the Emperor's 'pyramids' were lost in a campaign, the Synopsis calls them kalyptras, again the more common, general, name for the headpieces.²

Secondly, there are the substantive differences arising from an unidentified source which the author of the Synopsis used and whose information he added to Akropolites' account. This supplementary material obviously does not derive from first-hand knowledge since the events narrated or described predate the author's lifetime. For example, it is the author of the Synopsis who supplies the information that Leo Sgouros was given the title of Despot by Alexios III upon Sgouros' marriage to the Emperor's daughter.³ Choniates' History, a work on which the Synopsis is also dependent, does not contain this information even though Choniates was a contemporary of the event. The source for this and other additions to Akropolites' account remains unknown.⁴

In other cases, differences are the result of the author's first-hand knowledge. See, for instance, the long eulogy of the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris which the author of the Synopsis adds to Akropolites'

(1) History, 86, 8-9; Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 499, 9-10.

(2) See the commentary on 19,23-24.

(3) See on 13,16-22.

(4) See also on 11,5-9; 13,7-10. All such differences in the two authors are noted in the commentary. The Synopsis contains valuable, unique information for earlier periods as well. See P. Charanis' comments on the Synopsis' account of the 'origins' of the First Crusade: 'Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade', B 19 (1949), 31.

account and which finishes with the statement that the author knew the Emperor and therefore had personal experience of his intelligence and charm.¹ Also, it is obvious that the additions to the account of the Bulgarian campaign of 1256 are those of an eye-witness; they are the precise chronological details of the sort which only a participator could have made.²

Of no less importance in understanding the nature of the relationship of Akropolites' account and the Synopsis are the omissions from Akropolites' work which the author of the Synopsis has made. These passages are mainly those which are favourable to Michael Palaiologos³ and those which are hostile or unfavourable to the Emperor Theodore II.⁴ The Synopsis, while omitting negative comments on the Laskarid Emperors adds long eulogistic passages of the Emperor John Batatzes and his son Theodore II which are not to be found in Akropolites.⁵

Thus, even though the authorship of the Synopsis cannot be determined beyond any doubt, it is clear that it is the work of a person who knew the Emperor Theodore II and the Patriarch Arsenios and approved of both men. Furthermore, the pro-Arsenite and pro-Laskarid sentiments of the author of the Synopsis find echoes in the Encomium of the Emperor

(1) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 535,20-536,12.

(2) See the commentary on 126,25; 126,29-127,1. Laurent is wrong to discount the account of the Synopsis with respect to this campaign, see EO 34 (1935), 42, note 1.

(3) See Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 497, 25-26; 527, 28-528,1 and compare with the History, 84, 4-6; 136,26 ff., for the passages favourable to Michael Palaiologos which the Synopsis omits.

(4) e.g. the History, 105, 1-17; 144, 25-145,8; 155,16-156,18; Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 509, 12-15; 531, 18-19; 537,8-27.

(5) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 506, 6-509,11; 535, 5-536,12; Heisenberg, Additamenta, no. 33, pp. 284-288; no. 52, pp. 296-298.

John Batatzes written in the fourteenth century¹ and in the unpublished Encomium of Arsenios, included among the collection of works written and owned by Philotheos, Metropolitan of Selymbria (floruit 1365-1389).² Of particular interest is the passage concerning the election of Arsenios to the Patriarchate which only the Synopsis and the Encomium of Arsenios describe as having been conducted by choosing random readings from the Bible. These accounts thus give God credit for the Patriarch's election while Akropolites presents the same events as the last-minute thought of the Emperor Theodore who was pressed for time.³ The Encomium may have had as its source the Synopsis or the two works may have taken the story of the election from pro-Arsenite literature in circulation. In any event, the authors of these works represent a body of opinion of an entirely contrary nature to that expressed by Akropolites whose partisanship for Michael Palaiologos dominates his account.

Akropolites served the Emperor Michael VIII, to whom he was related by marriage, for twenty years as mezas logothetes. It was the troops of this Emperor who freed Akropolites from his imprisonment in Arta. In addition, it is probably from this Emperor that Akropolites received the title of mezas logothetes upon his return to Asia Minor from Epiros.⁴ Akropolites had many ties binding him to Michael VIII and therefore had many reasons to act as the loyal servant of the Emperor, whether at Lyons

(1) For the Encomium see A. Heisenberg, 'Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige', BZ 14 (1905), 160-233. See also the commentary on 103, 16-19.

(2) cod. Patmiacus 366, ff. 430 v - 434. S.G. Mercati conjectured that the Encomium was by Philotheos, but without seeing the manuscript: 'Notizie di Demetrio e Procoro Cidone', Studi e Testi 56 (1931), 246-248. See also H.-G. Beck, Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich (Munich, 1959), 776-777.

(3) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 509, 23-512, 2; Heisenberg, Addimenta, no. 35, pp. 288-291; cod. Patmiacus 366, f. 433v.

(4) For these events in his career see supra, 40.

where he swore obedience to the Pope in his own name and the Emperor's, or at Constantinople, where he presumably wrote the story of the years 1203-1261.

Akropolites' commitment to Michael VIII is obvious in the History almost from the first mention of him. Both Michael and his father Andronikos receive high praise there, in contrast to the treatment which the author of the Synopsis accords to them.¹ One of the longest and most detailed accounts in the History is that which deals with Michael's trial at Philippi in 1253. Akropolites' account conveys the impression that the Emperor John Batatzes was acting irrationally and without cause in bringing charges against Michael to trial. He claims that everyone else - officials, generals, soldiers and senate - was sympathetic to Michael.² The account of the Synopsis is dramatically short with regard to the whole episode,³ while Akropolites uses his account as a stage on which to exhibit Michael's wit, intelligence, popularity, as well as the absurdity of bringing him to trial. He likewise uses his narration of Michael's flight to the Turks as an opportunity to put into the mouth of the Turks the sentiment that it was obvious from Michael's appearance and character that he was a man fit to rule.⁴ The Synopsis is silent on this point.⁵

The treatment of Michael Palaiologos in the History is in sharp contrast to the indifferent and sometimes hostile treatment Akropolites gives the Emperors John Batatzes and Theodore II to whom he was indebted for his education and advancement in his career. It cannot be denied

(1) See the History, 83, 18-22; 84, 4-6; § L, and contrast with the Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 497, 20-21; 497, 25-26; 503, 4-504, 13.

(2) History, § L, esp. 98, 21-100, 1.

(3) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 503, 4-504, 13.

(4) History, 136, 28-137, 1. See also on 159, 19-160, 3 and 175, 2-4, passages in which Akropolites' account differs from others and appears to give an untruthful version of events in order to present Michael Palaiologos in the best possible light.

(5) Synopsis, ed. Sathas, 527, 28-528, 1.

that Akropolites held an important position under Theodore, often acting as advisor and confidant.¹ Yet Akropolites dwells on the humiliating scene of his disagreement with Theodore II.² Of his father, John Batatzes, he has little of the encomiastic to say, although his affection and respect for the Empress Eirene, Batatzes' wife, is evident. One might well wonder whether it is not her blood relationship to Michael Palaiologos which is the source of inspiration for the attention she is given.³

Finally, Akropolites, far from caring to protect the rights of the young John IV, son of Theodore II, went to the extreme of writing an oration in which he suggested the co-proclamation of Michael's son Andronikos as Emperor in 1261. It is of interest to note that this idea did not find favour at the time, even among those who had received benefits from Michael since his elevation to the throne in 1259. Was it to mitigate the effect of the stories of *κοινὴ φήμη* circulating at the time about the Emperor that Akropolites wrote the History in such a way as to glorify Michael and detract from his predecessors? Or was it to disengage himself from association with the imperial family under whom he had prospered? Undoubtedly both reasons had a part to play in the composition of the History.

Another distinctive and equally characteristic aspect of the History, apart from its portrayal of Michael Palaiologos, is its 'Nicaean' based and biased viewpoint. The Empire set up with its capital at Nicaea during the Latin occupation of Constantinople was guardian of the imperial and ecclesiastic traditions of Byzantium. The loyal subjects of the Emperors crowned at Nicaea were *Ῥωμαῖοι*.

(1) History, 133, 24-31.

(2) History, §LXIII, pp. 127-133.

(3) See the History, 38, 3-5; 52, 13-15; 62, 19-64, 5 and commentary on 62, 19-23.

Others, who failed to recognise the sovereignty of these rulers, were not. This is especially true of the Komneno-Doukas family in Epiros and Thessaly, Nicaea's chief rivals. Striking in this respect are Akropolites' statements about Theodore Komnenos Doukas, crowned in Thessalonike in 1227.¹ 'He was by nature unsuited to the institutions of imperial power' (34, 8-9). He knew nothing of imperial customs. In contrast are the actions of the Emperor John Batatzes whose every move is imperial: βασιλικῶς παρασκευασμένος (89, 12). Theodore Komnenos Doukas and his family were considered enemies of the Roman Empire, ἐναντίους τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ (89, 8-10) and 'rebels' (145, 1). When the Emperor John succeeded in taking Thessalonike from them in 1246, Akropolites comments that the city had finally become subject to the Romans 'for those who ruled her were enemies of the Romans' (83, 12-14).

No narrative source survives to speak for the 'others', the Romans who had ceased to be considered Romans because of their independence from Nicaea in political and ecclesiastical matters. However, strangely enough it is a subject of the Emperors at Nicaea who acts as an apologist for these enemies of the Empire of Nicaea: the monk Nikephoros Blemmydes. Both in his autobiography, written in the 1260's in Ephesos for the benefit of the monks of his monastery,² and in a letter to the Patriarch Manuel at Nicaea, written in the 1240's,³ Blemmydes gives the opinion which is not to be found anywhere else in the surviving works of the subjects of the Empire of Nicaea. He claims

(1) For this date see now H. Bees-Sepherles, Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 21 (1971-1976), 272-279.

(2) Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, lemma on pp. 1 and 52 for the date of its composition.

(3) Epistulae, ed. Festa, 325-329; esp. 329, 113-117.

that the Komneno-Doukai of Epiros/Thessaly and Leo Gabalas, ruler in Rhodes, did not have to obey the orders of the Emperor because they did not hold their power from him but were 'independent and self-elected'.¹ One wonders how many people agreed with Blemmydes.

However, it must also be borne in mind that Blemmydes was free to express these opinions in his autobiography, a private work. He was not dependent on the court for his livelihood. He had built his monastery near Ephesos with money inherited from his parents.² Secure in his own place of refuge, free from the interference of outside authorities, he did not need to sell his favours or talents at court. His student, Akropolites, on the other hand, depended on the establishment for his living. Akropolites was characterised in his own time as a man who 'gave everything to the Emperor'³ and, less charitably, as a man 'neglectful in matters of conscience'.⁴ But could he afford to be otherwise?

(1) Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 36, 16-19; 62, 11-18.

(2) op. cit., 'Prolegomena', xx; p. 71, 25-31; pp. 72-73. Pachymeres, I, 341, 17-342, 6.

(3) Constantine Akropolites, Διαθήκη, ed. Treu, Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος 4 (1892), 48.

(4) Pachymeres, I, 316, 2-5: πλὴν κατημελημένως τῶν εἰς συνέδῃσιν ἔχοντι.

A Note on the Translation and Commentary

The translation is based on Heisenberg's text of the History and maintains the editor's divisions into sections; however, in some cases new paragraphs have been introduced for the sake of clarity. Likewise, references in the commentary are to the page and line of the Heisenberg text.

On the whole, the commentary is intended to serve the following purposes: (1) to give basic reference information (2) to discuss passages which are unclear (3) to discuss passages which have not been dealt with adequately in secondary works, either because they have been misunderstood or overlooked (4) to establish Akropolites' value as a historian by comparison with other sources.

A word about the spelling of Greek names. In general I have tried to render proper names and technical terms as literally as possible. However, when a proper name is familiar I have used the English or Latinized form, e.g., Theodore, Nicaea, Cyzicus.

The History of George Akropolites

I. Those who wrote before us defined the usefulness of history and we can only repeat what they had to say[on the subject]. For what more novel significance might we find than so many men who have written history and have expounded the general value of history in their works? But perhaps we should set forth in our history what is supplementary to theirs and is worth saying in the matter at hand. This is because there are new events before us which no one has ever set forth in writing, whose utility also happens to lie in their novelty and which people are aware of but which indiscriminate talk does not present truthfully.

Each man who has written about our history has taken a different starting point. For some began with the creation of the world, others started from some [other] notable beginning, either [the Empire] of the Persians, the Greeks or the Romans or some other people, each one adjusting his composition to suit his own end. Our work will no less be executed in this manner. But what happened from the beginning of the creation of the world has been set forth often and by many, even though it goes without saying that most of those who write about imperial affairs, territorial exchanges, faction of cities, eruption of wars, captivities, victories, defeat and all other things which happen in our world, have contradicted each other. For since these things are complex and perhaps are not understood even by their very agents, the attainment of the truth in all matters is unlikely to be realised by its investigators. From which, rather, what is known by common report should be taken into account by the writer if he is not disposed to do an injustice to the truth as those who adulterate obols with base metal or even try to counterfeit them. The writer should write neither with a view to pleasing nor maligning but neither because of hatred nor goodwill but for the sake of history alone and so the actions of certain persons,

whether good or bad, might be transmitted and not left to the depths of oblivion which is the product of time. Then let our beginning be the conquest of Constantinople, a city so famous and renowned to all that there is not one people which has not heard of it.

II. When Alexios Komnenos, brother of the former Emperor Isaac (both were named Angelos), held sway over the Romans, men set out against Constantinople from Italy. The reason was the following. The above mentioned Alexios deposed his brother Isaac and blinded him and ruled the Roman Empire from that day on. Isaac by his first wife had a son who was then a young man. Unable to tolerate the maltreatment suffered by his father, he contrived to escape and made for Rome, where he threw himself at the feet of the Bishop, entreating him to avenge his father. At that time it happened that a great number of Italians were assembling, some from Italy, others from the Empire of the Franks, and yet others from Venice and elsewhere. They gathered with the excuse of going to free Jerusalem, where the Lord's tomb lies. The man who called them together was the Bishop of the Elder Rome and, as I said, it was to him that Isaac's son appealed on behalf of his father's imperial rights. The Pope, put in a difficult position by the boy's requests, and especially by his promises, for these were large, handed him over to the leaders of the armies so that, deviating from their proposal, they might establish him on the throne inherited from his father for which he would reimburse them whatever expenses they incurred on the way to, and while delayed at, Constantinople. Therefore they set sail in galleys and freighters, making a successful journey with the help of favourable winds. When they had dropped anchor at Constantinople, they presented the boy to the people there, proclaiming the injustice and the orders of the Bishop of Rome on this account. For a while there were statements from both sides and violent fights on shore but no agreements of any kind

resulted from the exchange of embassies. For the Emperor Alexios shrank from such negotiations and, indeed, despaired of the people in the city who were inclining to turmoil and infected with the spirit of revolt. Abandoning everything, he fled willy-nilly* saying, according to those who heard him, 'David's salvation was in flight' ** and taking with him his wife and a considerable sum of money from the imperial treasury.

III. When he had left Constantinople the inhabitants sent ambassadors to the Italians so that Isaac's son, Alexios, who was supposedly the cause of their aggression, might be brought into the city and be proclaimed Emperor. The boy was accordingly brought into the city, on the basis of the agreements he had made previously with the Italians who were restoring him to the throne, and was proclaimed Emperor by all the people. The citizens and the Italians were thereafter seemingly at peace with each other but the Italians demanded the fulfilment of the promises and [payment of] the expenses while the inhabitants of the city, considering the sum to be beyond measure, affirmed that they could not give so much money to the Italians. Then there was agitation in the city concerning this matter. For Alexios' father, Isaac Angelos — he was still alive, although he died shortly thereafter, before the conquest of Constantinople — gave the opinion that a collection should be made of the holy vessels as a first payment on the debts owed to the Italians and that the rest of the money should be taken from the imperial treasury and the residents of the city. In the midst of disputes and mutual exchanges of embassy, Alexios, Isaac's son, was killed by the man he had appointed protovestiarios, Alexios Doukas. The inhabitants of the city, finding some fault in him, called him Mourtzouphlos. So this Alexios

* Il. 4, 43.

** Kings I, 19. 18: Δαυὶδ ἔφυγε καὶ διεσώθη.

Mourtzouphlos was proclaimed Emperor by the citizens. The Italians, enraged all the more by such a state of affairs, felt implacable hatred for the Constantinopolitans. In addition, another decision was made by the citizens which was not worthy of praise. For the magnates and some of the officials agreed to expel those Latins who were residents of Constantinople so as not to have them plotting within. Several thousand deserted to the enemy, having first assured the citizens with irrevocable oaths that they would never meditate treachery against them but, should the situation arise, would die along with them as men of indigenous and native stock. And yet, they did not carry conviction for they delivered their wives and children to be taken to safe places. When they left, they were of great assistance to the enemy since they were many in number and well-informed about what was going on.

IV. Forty days later Constantinople was conquered by these men. It was the twelfth of April in the six thousandth seven hundredth and eleventh year [1203] since the creation of the world. They anchored by the city in May of the tenth year [1202] but the sack took place eleven months later. The greatest and most renowned city was captured, they say, when one or two men leapt onto the wall from a ladder propped against the mast of a large freighter. All that happened to the city would be a matter for long discussion and would not be appropriate to the point of my subject. At any rate, everyone can imagine what misfortunes befell the captured city — murders of men and enslavement of women, plundering, destruction of homes, and all the other things which are wrought by the sword. When the Italians became masters of the city, surging forth as from a vantage point, they overran the whole west and no small part of the east as well. First they conquered the western territories and all fled before them as if driven by some god-sent affliction.*

* Hdt. 7, 18: φθορή τις...θεήλατος.

V. The Emperor Alexios Angelos, whom the narrative reported as having fled from Constantinople, reached the area of Philippoupolis and when he was not admitted by the inhabitants he went to the area of Mosynoupolis and took up residence there. Alexios Doukas, who had killed Isaac's son, wished to effect a marriage alliance with him [Alexios Angelos] and took to wife Eudokia, the youngest of his [Alexios'] daughters, at the time when he killed Isaac's son. He [Alexios] had three daughters. The eldest, called Eirene, he betrothed to Alexios Palaiologos, to whom he gave the honour of Despot; however, he died before the conquest of Constantinople. His second daughter, Anna, he gave in marriage to Theodore Laskaris. Eudokia was his third daughter's name. Her father had married her to the Kral of Serbia some time ago. But the latter, so they said, detected some fault in her and sent her back to her father, and would not change his mind. It was she whom Alexios Doukas took, deserting his own wife. When Constantinople was captured by the Italians, he also fled from there, taking with him his wife Eudokia. Upon learning that his father-in-law, the Emperor Alexios, was residing in Mosynoupolis, he went to him with confidence. But Alexios Angelos loathed him for many reasons, not least on account of his daughter. However, he received Alexios wearing the face of a welcoming father-in-law, prepared a bath and bid him to bathe with his daughter. When Alexios was in the bath the servants of the Emperor Alexios burst in and gouged out his eyes on the spot. Those who were there said that the daughter, standing by the window of the bathing-room, showered her father with insults and that he, in turn, reproached her for shameful and licentious love. Alexios Doukas, now blind, wandered about* the region of Mosynoupolis, passing through like a vagrant.** The Emperor Alexios left from there and went to the region of Thessalonike. When the Italians set out from Constantinople and arrived at Mosynoupolis, they found Alexios Doukas Mourtzouphlos there and took him to Constantinople. To punish him for the crime which has been mentioned, the

* Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 1029

** Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus, 1096.

one he had committed against the son of the Emperor Isaac, they sentenced him to a precipitous death. Taking him up to the highest column, called the Tauros, they hurled him down. Such was his end. Meanwhile, the Emperor Alexios arrived in Thessalonike.

VI. When the Italians became masters of the city, they gave free license to those of its inhabitants who preferred to remain and be under their control, to do so, and to those who wished to leave, to go unhindered wherever they desired. Therefore the notables left, some openly, others secretly. Theodore Laskaris had already left with his wife Anna. The narrative above disclosed that he was the son-in-law of the Emperor Alexios and had been given the honour of Despot by him. To resume, he left with his wife and children — he had three daughters, the eldest named Eirene, the second, Maria, and the third, Eudokia — and arrived at the city of Nicaea where he appealed to the Nicaeans to admit him into the city and to acknowledge him as their lord. But they would not have him. Then he entreated them, persistently asking them, to admit his wife at least, but he barely won their cooperation in this. Leaving his wife in Nicaea, he went about the surrounding area, Prousa and the vicinity, so that he might subject these[places] and rule them as Emperor in the place of his father-in-law Alexios. And, indeed, he succeeded. But, in the meantime, he visited the ruler of the Persians, an acquaintance of his, with whom he formed an alliance and accomplished his aim.

VII. Two years had passed and Laskaris was recognised by everyone as Despot, when an assembly of the notables and the select men of the church was held in Nicaea. They deliberated as to how the Despot Theodore might be proclaimed Emperor. But no Patriarch was present, for John Kamateros, who graced the patriarchal throne when the Italians conquered Constantinople,

had gone to Didymoteichon and taken up residence there. When summoned by Laskaris and the others he refused to go to them, making his resignation in writing. Michael Autoreianos was therefore elected Patriarch, a learned man, well-versed in all literature, both Christian and pagan.* He crowned the Despot Theodore with the imperial diadem.

When Laskaris had been proclaimed Emperor, he took tighter control of affairs and was involved in much hard fighting. For the Italians, having crossed over to the east, subjected most of it. The entire theme of Opsikion and Aigaion, and Atramyttion itself became Italian possessions. Baris and Aulonia, Poimanenon and Lentiana as far as Lopadion recognised the Italians as masters, but so also did all of Thynia up to Nicomedia. The Emperor Theodore was therefore greatly distressed. But he was just as much under pressure from Romans. For in the confusion of the conquest of Constantinople there happened to be governors here and there or magnates who made the territory they had under them their own realm, either by their own initiative or because they were summoned to the defence of the land by its inhabitants. For example, Theodore, whom they called by the name Morotheodoros, had the city of Philadelphia in his power; another man, Sabbas by name, lorded it over the town of Sampson and the places near it. David, brother of the Alexios who ruled Trebizond and who was called Grand Komnenos, held sway over all Paphlagonia. They were grandsons of the Emperor Andronikos, children of his son Manuel. Consequently, the situation caused the Emperor Theodore a great deal of difficulty. However, he easily prevailed over Morotheodoros and Sabbas and thereafter ruled confidently over all Kelbianon, Philadelphia, the Maian-der and Neokastras.

* Theodoret of Cyr, Historia Ecclesiastica, 1.23.2: γραφῆς...τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ θύραθεν.

VIII. But let my account pause here for it proposes to tell what happened to the Emperor Alexios and all that had taken place in the west. As I related, the Emperor Alexios arrived in Thessalonike and was welcomed by his sister-in-law, a Hungarian woman who had married the Emperor Isaac after his wife's death. Those who saw her said she was very beautiful. Now when the Latins had divided the Byzantine Empire into many lots and Baldwin of Flanders was proclaimed Emperor, the Doge of Venice, who was also personally associated, received not a small share and was honoured with the title of Despot to have a quarter and half a quarter of the whole which the Franks acquired. Since the Marquis bore a notable part in the alliance, he was honoured by Baldwin of Flanders as King of Thessalonike and took to wife Maria of Hungary, who had formerly been married to the Emperor Isaac. As I said, the Emperor Alexios was welcomed by her. But a short time later he was caught plotting by the people there and was expelled with his wife and daughter Eudokia. Arriving in Corinth he joined her in marriage to the ruler of the place, Sgouros. This Sgouros had taken the law into his own hands after the conquest of Constantinople and ruled over Corinth and the surrounding lands as did others elsewhere. He [Alexios] had spent a short time there when he learned from some men that it was about to be captured and fled. As he was making his way to his first cousin Michael, he happened upon some Lombards who took him captive. Michael at that time held sway over a part of Old Epiros and was giving trouble* to the Italians who had reached that region. He was effective ruler of this territory for he governed Ioannina and Arta and as far as Naupaktos. To resume, when the Emperor Alexios was captured by the Lombards he and his wife were ransomed by Michael, who gave their captors much gold.

*Hdt. 1, 155: πρήγματα παρέχοντας.

After the Emperor Alexios had been with Michael a short time, he determined to go to the Sultan of Iconium, Iathatines by name, for he was well-acquainted with him. He had escaped from the hands of his brother Azatines, then ruler of the Muslims, and had fled to Constantinople where he was welcomed by the Emperor Alexios who baptised him and adopted him as a son. He accompanied the Emperor Alexios on his flight from Constantinople. Not long after a man approached him and secretly informed him of his brother's death. He [Iathatines] left with him, dressed in rags, and when he had made himself known to his followers, he was acclaimed ruler of the Persians. He proved to be of service to the Emperor Theodore, at a time when he was hard-pressed, giving him military assistance and negotiating for peace. For he regarded the Empress Anna a sister.

IX. The Emperor Alexios made every effort to reach him [the Sultan]. For he could not bear the thought of going near the Emperor, his son-in-law Theodore. And so, taking provisions, he left Michael's territory and with the help of a favourable wind, came to anchor at the city of Attaleia. He was welcomed most warmly by the Sultan. Now the Emperor Theodore was living in Nicaea and an embassy came to him from the Sultan, announcing the arrival of the Emperor, his father-in-law, and accusing him of having unjustly seized another man's Empire. The Emperor was troubled by these words and quite frightened. For the Sultan was using the Emperor Alexios as an excuse; his real aim was to overrun, to plunder, or even to subdue the whole of the Roman territory. As the saying goes, [the outcome of] the affair hung in the balance* for the Emperor Theodore. He assembled his men and asked them whether they would stand by him or his father-in-law, the Emperor Alexios. They answered in a shout, as of one mind, that they would either live or die

* Il. 10. 173; Hdt. 6,11: ἐπὶ ἔυροσ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς.

with him. Then the Emperor, taking heart at the words of his subjects, left Nicaea, accompanied by the Sultan's ambassador. He reached the city of Philadelphia with all speed. The Sultan, setting out, took the Emperor Alexios with him as a figure-head and made an attack on Antioch. This city guards the approach to the Maiander. It was his aim to get control of it. To this end, he set up siege towers and besieged the city and indeed it was on the point of falling. This was just what the Emperor Theodore feared for it was a fact that if the Sultan got control of the city nothing would prevent him from subduing the whole of the Roman territory. Trusting in the fortunes of war, or rather, to speak the truth, in the Lord Christ whose name we pious men wear as an ensign or device, he quickened his march and ordered that no one bring a tent or baggage or anything else which was of no use in battle. Only the necessities, a little food and clothing [were to be brought]. His entire army numbered two thousand, eight hundred of whom were Italians, noble and strong men as time was to prove; the rest were Romans.

X. When the Emperor was near Antioch he let the Persian ambassador go to his master; he went and informed the Sultan of the Emperor's approach, a thing which was most incredible to him. Then the ambassador swore to him on oath that the Emperor was nearby. When the Sultan heard this he assembled his forces as quickly as he could and drew them up in battle-order. The Latins opened the attack on the Sultan's forces but the number of Muslims was great. Exhibiting deeds of strength and courage, nearly all the Latins fell, although they had slaughtered many thousands. Having overcome the Latins, the Muslims easily got the better of the Roman forces. Some fled with headlong speed, a few persevered until the end. Since the Sultan had the upper hand in the battle, he sought out the Emperor and someone pointed out to him that his enemy was in a tight spot. Then, he charged with great speed at the Emperor, trusting in the strength

of his body. Each sized up his adversary. The Sultan struck the Emperor on the head with a mace and he fell from his horse, dizzied by the blow. They say that the horse lost its footing because of the blow but it may be that the Sultan dealt it a second blow. The Emperor, although unhorsed, stood on his feet as if strengthened by a divine force, drew his sword from its sheath and, as the Sultan was turning from him and insolently saying, 'take him away', struck the hind legs of his horse. The Sultan was riding an enormous mare and so he fell as if from a tower and all of a sudden he was decapitated, although by whom neither the Emperor nor anyone of his company knew. In this, then, the Emperor won a victory, although on the whole he was defeated, for he could not advance, left as he was with meagre forces. This success gave the Romans cause for relief. Consequently the Muslims made an inviolable truce with the Romans. From then on the Emperor, free of battle on that front, devoted himself to wars with the Latins. Also, he claimed his father-in-law, the Emperor Alexios, whom he had encountered in the course of the battle and, paying him due honours, took him to Nicaea, and stripped him of his imperial insignia, ordering him to live in the monastery of Hyakinthos, which is where he died. His wife Euphrosyne ended her days in the region of Artta and was buried there.

XI. The Emperor Theodore also overcame the ruler of Paphlagonia, David, and brought to terms Herakleia, Amastris, all the surrounding territory and the small towns.

Once again my narrative proposes to tell of events in the west. But in order that my story be intelligible to all, a few things must be said by way of introduction. At the time when the Emperor Isaac ruled Constantinople, his wife being deceased, he married the previously mentioned Hungarian woman, the daughter of the ruler of Hungary. Since a wedding was to take place, and an imperial one at that, the expenses were, of necessity, considerable. Therefore, sheep, swine, and oxen were collected from every pro-

vince of the Roman Empire. Now the lands of the Bulgarians raise these animals on a greater scale than other places and so more animals were sought from that area. From the beginning the Bulgarian people had violated their treaties with the Romans and caused many wars, enslavements, conquests of cities and countless other terrible deeds, and these over a period of many years. Finally they were subjugated by the Emperor Basil, whom legend named the Bulgarslayer because of this. The race paid tribute to the Romans until the time of the Emperor Isaac and it used this incident as an excuse to plot rebellion. A man by the name of Asen arose and, having subjected the whole area between the Haimos and the Ister, ruled over the territory as Emperor. He caused the Romans a great deal of trouble. For the Bulgarians, having the Scythians as allies, worked many terrible deeds against the Roman land. The Emperor Isaac, greatly vexed by this, took the whole Roman army with him and marched out against them. Following the coast, he passed through the city of Mesembria and reached the Haimos. Asen, with his army, entered the small fortress whose name is Strinavos. The Emperor Isaac pitched tent there and laid siege to the Bulgarians but he was outwitted by them. For one of the Bulgarians, pretending to be a fugitive, went to the Emperor and informed him of the approach of the Scythians. The Emperor, terrified by the report, arose and left, even though he would have captured the fortress on the following day. He did not leave by the road on which he had come but, deceived by the Bulgarian, he had decided to go by the supposedly quicker way. The Bulgarians then swooped down on him as he was passing through a defile, destroyed the entire army and stripped it of all its baggage, including the Emperor's own. Many Romans fell; the survivors along with the Emperor were stripped bare and were few indeed. Henceforth the Bulgarian people were puffed up with pride for they gained much booty from the Romans and even the most valuable of the Emperor's trappings. They took the Emperor's 'pyramids', special bowls, a great amount of money, and the imperial cross itself. One of the priests tossed it aside but after a short time it was

found in the river. It was made of gold but it had at its centre a piece of the Holy Wood on which the Lord Christ was nailed, formed in the shape of a cross with many small compartments in which there were relics of the most illustrious martyrs, the milk of the Mother of God, a piece of Her Girdle and many other remains of the holy. The Emperor Isaac fled to Constantinople like a refugee.

XII. Henceforth the Romans had a great deal of trouble from the Bulgarians. Yet even when the Emperor Isaac was blinded by his brother Alexios and the latter had seized the sceptre of Roman imperial power, there were many wars between the Romans and the Bulgarians in the area of Philippoupolis and Beroe. It was there that the protostrator Kammytzes was captured in battle by Bulgarians when John, the brother of Asen, was ruler. For Asen had two brothers of whom one was called Peter, the other John. He kept John by his side but Peter he ordered to rule over a portion [of land] which he cut off from his own domain. Great Presthlava, Provatous and the area around them were given to Peter by his brother Asen as his own inheritance, whence till this day these are called 'Peter's territory'. When Asen had ruled over the Bulgarian people as Emperor for nine years, he was murdered by his first-cousin Ivanko who immediately fled. Then John, Asen's brother, reigned over the people because the Bulgarians did not want Peter for their ruler and John, Asen's son, had not yet come of age.

XIII. When this John was given the title of Emperor of the Bulgarians, he was the cause of many evils for the Romans but fortunately, for the Italians as well. For he was Emperor of the Bulgarians at the time Constantinople was conquered. Now when the Italians had subjected all of Macedonia under the direction of Baldwin, the first [of them] to exercise imperial rule in Constantinople, they sent word to Adrianople that it should submit to them.

For the Emperor of the Bulgarians, John, had just seized Philippoupolis and had enslaved many of the Romans there. Since the citizens of Adrianople were not willing to become subject to the Italians, the Italians went out against them, the Emperor Baldwin himself with them, as well as the representative of the Doge of Venice in Constantinople. Then the Adrianopolitans were greatly distressed. They sent to the Emperor of the Bulgarians, John, asking him to join them and deliver them from the impending danger. He readily accepted, taking Scythians with him; since he could not fight the Latins in the open, he chose to outwit them by stratagems. He positioned himself some way from Adrianople and sent the Scythians to use Scythian tactics against the Italians. Now the Italians have the custom of riding on towering horses whose bodies are covered with coats of mail; therefore they charge ponderously at their adversary. But the Scythians, who are more lightly armed, assault their opponents more freely. The Italians were caught completely unawares by the Scythians and were conquered, with the result that even the Emperor Baldwin was captured by them and led off in chains to the Emperor of the Bulgarians, John. They say that after he was slaughtered, his head served as a goblet for the barbarian, having been cleaned of its contents and encrusted with ornament all around. However, the Adrianopolitans did not immediately realise what had happened; for if they had, they would have gone out of the city and plundered the Italians' tents. But those Italians who survived lit bright torches in their tents, thus giving the citizens the impression that they were present; they then fled in the middle of the night to Constantinople. When the inhabitants of Adrianople realised this early in the morning, they plundered whatever was left in the tents. Then the Emperor of the Bulgarians set out to become master of the city in accordance with the promises of the Adrianopolitans, but they denied this. Angered by their deceitfulness, the Emperor of the Bulgarians determined to besiege

them. But the Bulgarians are completely unskilled at besieging, for they neither know how to set up siege towers nor can they understand any of the things capable of besieging. And so the Emperor of the Bulgarians departed from there and since he had nothing to stop him — for the Italians had been utterly ruined and there was no one else to oppose him — he overran the whole of Macedonia. He acquired a great deal of booty, enslaving the cities to a man and levelling them. His intention was that the Romans might never be able to effect a recovery of their cities. And so he razed Philippoupolis, a marvellous city situated by the Hebros, and then all the other cities, Herakleia, Panion, Rhaedestos, Charioupolis, Traianoupolis, Makre, Klaudioupolis, Mosynoupolis, Peritheorion and many others which it is not necessary to enumerate. He took the people from there and settled them by the banks of the Ister, giving the settlements the names of those very enslaved towns and cities. He did this, he said, in revenge for the evils which the Emperor Basil had worked against the Bulgarians and he said that since the latter was called Bulgarslayer, he named himself Romanslayer. He went as far as Thessalonike and died there of pleurisy, although some said that his death was caused by divine wrath. For it seemed to him that an armed man appeared to him in his sleep and struck his side with a sword. It was certainly true that evils such as those [wrought] by him had never befallen the Roman Empire, so that an epithet was given to him which included the word 'dog'; he was known to all as Skyloioannes. For, since he had won over the Scythians and developed family ties with them, he shared their way of life which was of a most bestial nature, and so delighted in the murder of Romans. When he died, his sister's son, Boril by name, took to wife his Scythian aunt and became master of the Bulgarian Empire. Someone secretly abducted the son of Asen, John, who was still underage, and it was said that he had made for the Scythians. So much for the affairs of the Bulgarians. The account will relate the sequel to this at the appropriate time.

XIV. Michael, whom the account has already mentioned as ruling over Epiros and a part of the land of the Romans, had three brothers, Constantine, Theodore and Manuel. Theodore was with the Emperor of the Romans, Theodore Laskaris, serving him like the rest of the Romans. Michael appealed to the Emperor Theodore to send his brother to him because he did not yet have a child of age or even a legitimate son — for Michael, about whom we shall speak later, was his son by a concubine — and he feared an untimely death; for he knew his other brothers were unfit to rule. The Emperor sent Theodore to his brother Michael, although he first made him confirm with oaths that he would keep his pledge of faithful service to him and to those who ruled over the Roman Empire after him. And so he went and joined his brother Michael. But not long after, Michael was murdered by one of his servants at night as he was sleeping in bed with his wife; Romaïos was the murderer's name. Theodore then succeeded to his brother's power, having his brothers Constantine and Manuel [beside him]. As he was determined to rule, he greatly increased his realm. For he acquired not a little land from the Italians and much from the Bulgarians. He made Thessaly, Ochrid, Prilep, Albanon and Dyrrachion itself subject to him. It was at Dyrrachion that he bravely routed Peter who with a large army had gone there and had made himself master of it, on his way to Constantinople from Italy where he had just been proclaimed Emperor by the Pope. This Peter was the brother-in-law of the first of the Latins to rule as Emperor, Baldwin, and Henry after him, through their sister who was called Iolanda. Peter had three children by her, Philip, Robert and Baldwin. Robert and Baldwin ruled over the city of Constantinople as Emperors, while their eldest brother Philip yielded his claim to imperial power to Robert. They had sisters as well; the Emperor Theodore married one of them, Maria. As I said, Theodore took his own army and set out against Peter, who had gone a short way beyond Dyrrachion and had entered the rough terrain of Albanon. Then Theodore Komnenos' men overwhelmed the Latin army so that

all, to a man, were made captives with their baggage and the Emperor Peter himself was put to the sword. This was a great help to the Romans at the time.

XV. But my narrative returns once again to the Emperor Theodore Laskaris. As I said, he had three daughters by his wife Anna, Eirene, Maria and Eudokia. Maria, the second of his daughters, he offered in marriage to the son of the King of Hungary when the latter was passing through his [Theodore's] territory from Jerusalem. Their first daughter Eirene he joined in marriage to Andronikos Palaiologos and he gave him the honour of Despot. Not long after, the Despot Palaiologos died, some said from a condition caused by love, and the Emperor took on as his son-in-law John Doukas whose surname was Batatzes. He was from Didymoteichon and exercised the office of protovestiarites. Now, since the Empress Anna had died a while ago, the Emperor took to wife an Armenian woman. But as he was displeased with her, he sent her back to her native land of Cilicia and married the sister of the Emperor of the Italians; he was called Robert, as I said, and he succeeded his uncle Henry. This Henry was the cause of many wars with the Emperor Theodore and he subjected many cities and towns of the Romans. For he was brave and easily roused to battle, and saw that the Roman state was humiliated, especially from the time when the Emperor Theodore killed the Sultan. For at that time the Frankish troops in Theodore's service were destroyed; he had relied on them in his battles against their fellow countrymen and the Emperor Henry had feared them. For many of them were renowned both for their ancestry and for their natural valour. For this reason, some say, when the Emperor Henry heard about the Emperor's victory he remarked, 'Laskaris was defeated, not victorious'. But so that I do not prolong the account of the story too much, I need only say this in order to finish with the entire matter. Henry managed to pitch his tents as far as Nymphaion it-

self, with no one to prevent him, and at that point he turned back partly because he was satiated by his acquisitions and partly because he desired a truce (for the Latin race never was capable of much endurance in battle) and he came to terms with the Emperor Theodore. It was agreed that all of Kiminas (this is what the mountain near Achyraous is called) and Achyraous itself would be controlled by the Franks, while Kalamos (Kalamos is the village from which the theme of Neokastra begins) was to remain unoccupied, and the lands beyond would be controlled by the Emperor Theodore. These were Neokastra, Kelbianon, Chliara, Pergamon, and Magidia and Opsikia lying to the side. Yet another region belonged to the Emperor Theodore: the territory starting from Lopadion and including Prousa and Nicaea. This is the way things were for the Emperor Theodore.

XVI. Henry, even though a Frank by birth, behaved quite graciously to the the Roman inhabitants of Constantinople. He ranked many of them among his magnates, others[he enrolled] among his soldiers, while he treated the populace as his own people. When he conquered the Roman towns of Lentiana and Poimanenon and found warlike men who acted in a brave spirit, he welcomed them as a god-send. For in the town of Lentiana not only did lack of water parch those guarding it but hunger forced them to eat the leather from their shields and saddles. Furthermore, when a large section of the wall collapsed before the siege towers, they guarded it for forty days by the aid of a great fire, taking turns to stoke the flames with wood. Consequently, when the town was taken, not one of these men was released except the Emperor's brother and Dermokaftes who was the appointed leader of the army and Andronikos Palaiologos whom, as the account just mentioned, the Emperor took as a husband for his daughter Eirene. All the rest Henry assembled and drew up into companies, assigning to them officers of their own race. He ordered George Theophilopoulos to supervise them all and he entrusted them with the defence of the eastern districts.

XVII. While this Henry ruled Constantinople, the Pope dispatched to the Queen of Cities* a Bishop (whom they also call a legate) by the name of Pelagius, who had all the privileges of the Pope. For he wore slippers dyed red and clothes of the same colour; his horse's wrapper and reigns were also dyed with this colour. Since he was haughty and truculent he wrought many terrible deeds upon the inhabitants of Constantinople. But how reasonable his pretext was; for he was compelling all to subordinate themselves to the yoke of the Elder Rome. As a result monks were gaoled, priests were fettered and every church shut down. There were two choices in this matter: one either acknowledged the Pope as First Bishop and commemorated him in the holy services or died for not paying this mark of respect. This depressed the inhabitants of Constantinople and especially the magnates. They went to the Emperor Henry and said,

We are of another race and have another Bishop; we have subjected ourselves to your authority so that you rule our bodies but certainly not our spirits and souls. It is of necessity that we fight for you in war but it is utterly impossible that we should be deprived of our beliefs and practices. Either deliver us from the evils which are at hand, or let us go as free men to live among our own kind.

This is what they said and since he was not willing to lose so many good people, he opened the churches and freed those who were confined in prison, monks and priests, against the wish of the said legate, and he calmed the tempest which had Constantinople in its grip at that time. Many of the monks who left Constantinople joined the Emperor Theodore and by his command monasteries were given to them as a refuge. Some of the priests who went to Nicaea joined the Patriarchal clergy; those who took pleasure in holy places lived their lives as they wished. And it was in this manner that these things came to pass under the then reigning Emperor of Constantinople, Henry.

* Constantinople: see E. Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae (Munich, 1968), 20-54.

XVIII. When he died, his sister's son Robert dealt with affairs ineffectually. It was this man's sister whom the Emperor took to wife. Not many years later, since the Emperor of Constantinople, Robert, had not yet married, the Emperor determined to do something unlawful; he chose to make him his son-in-law by marriage to his daughter Eudokia. This became a source of contention between Manuel, who was the Patriarch at the time, and the Emperor, for the former could not at all consent to such a lawless union. But the Emperor did not manage to realise his wish. He had not yet sent her to Constantinople, but was making the preparations when he died, leaving his imperial power to his son-in-law John Doukas. For he did not have a male child who was of age. The son he had had by the Empress Anna had since died, while his son by the Armenian woman was eight years old when his father the Emperor died. Since, then, he was without any grown male offspring, his son-in-law inherited his imperial power. When his life came to an end, the Emperor Theodore Laskaris was more than forty-five years old but less than fifty, having ruled as Emperor for eighteen years. He was small in body but not too much so, quite dark skinned, with a flowing beard forked at the end, and slightly asymmetrical eyes. He was fierce in battle but a prey to his temper and sexual pleasures. Most generous with gifts, he would give much gold to whomever he wished, so that these people became wealthy overnight. He endured much hardship in battles both against the Italians and the Persians. He made a beginning for the Roman Empire, for which the Romans owe him much gratitude. His corpse was laid to rest in the monastery of Hyakinthos. The Emperor Alexios was also buried there as was the Empress Anna, his wife.

XIX. As I said, after his death, John Doukas, his son-in-law, took hold of the Roman sceptre and was crowned by the Patriarch Manuel who succeeded

Maximos. For after the death of the Patriarch Michael, Theodore Eirenikos, also called Kopas by many, was established on the patriarchal throne; he looked after women and was in turn cared for by them. For it was nothing other than this which raised him to such an eminence. After six months he died and Manuel ascended the patriarchal throne, a philosopher, as it proved, in fact and by reputation.

XX. Now the account turns again to the affairs of the Bulgarians. The first Emperor of the Bulgarians, Asen, had two sons, John and Alexander. When the aforementioned Boril ruled over the Bulgarians as Emperor, Asen's son John fled and made for the lands of the Russians and he stayed there a long time. Gathering about him some of the Russian hordes he claimed his paternal inheritance; he fought against Boril, defeated him and gained control of some considerable territory. Boril withdrew inside Trnovo and was besieged within its walls for seven years. When his companions grew weary, they surrendered to John Asen. Boril was captured while fleeing and was blinded by John. It was in this way that John gained control over all Bulgaria. So much for Bulgarian affairs.

XXI. Theodore Komnenos, whom the narrative mentioned a short while ago, was not willing to remain in his proper station but assumed imperial status when he gained control of Thessalonike and subjected much of the land of the Roman Empire held by the Italians and even that conquered by the Bulgarians. He donned the purple and wore red slippers but the Metropolitan of Thessalonike, Constantine Mesopotamites, opposed him most firmly in this matter and he [Theodore] subjected him to much maltreatment and to banishment for upholding canonical practice. But the Archbishop of Bulgaria, Demetrios, crowned him with the imperial diadem since, as he said, he was autonomous and responsible to no one and for this reason had

the authority to anoint as Emperor whomever he wished, wherever and whenever[he wished]. When Theodore was proclaimed Emperor, he dealt with matters imperially: he appointed Despots and sebastokrators, megaloi domestikoi, protovestiarii and all the rest of the court hierarchy. However, as he was by nature unsuited to the institutions of imperial power, he handled matters in a Bulgarian or, rather, barbarian fashion for he understood nothing about order or protocol or the ancient customs which have been established in the imperial palaces. This man opposed the Emperor John to no small degree. For the Emperor consented that he take the second place in the Empire and have control of his own territories and be in no other way subject to him. But he stubbornly refused.

XXII. Now the Emperor John had not been in power long when he realised that the Roman Empire was in straitened circumstances. Since he was not content to rule over next to nothing, after two years had passed, he fought with the Italians. A powerful Latin army was assembled, at whose head fought the brothers of the Emperor Theodore, the sebastokrators Alexios and Isaac. At the time of their brother's death they had planned to flee to Constantinople, taking with them his daughter Eudokia. But they failed in this objective and had to leave as fugitives [without her]. Battle was joined in the district of Poimaneion where the church of the Archangel Michael stands. At first most of the Romans were nearly defeated but the Emperor himself with a very few men accomplished a total victory, winning completely. For he took hold of a spear and hurled it at the enemy, displaying a brave spirit in that war which had not gone unnoticed previously. This victory greatly enlarged the Roman Empire while it contributed to the contraction and collapse of that of the Italians. The Emperor took their leaders prisoner in this battle but also the Laskaris brothers whom he blinded, having established their guilt. Others were

put to the sword while those who had not taken part in the battle fell victims to their own cowardice. The company of Italians that was then besieging the fortress of Serres which was held by Theodore Komnenos fled when they heard of this defeat of their compatriots, leaving Serres free. For they had come close to capturing it outright. Thenceforth the possessions of the Italians were dispersed hither and thither in the east as well as the west and hemmed in by powerful adversaries, the Emperor John and Theodore Komnenos, also called Emperor, and their fortunes began to decline. Immediately after he had defeated the Italians in that place, the Emperor John laid siege to the Roman fortresses which they controlled and conquered these without any help. For up to a point those in the fortresses resisted. However, since the Emperor conducted long sieges and these out of season — for he led his offensives not in spring, summer or late autumn but in the middle of winter — setting up siege towers and battering down battlements, those within succumbed; some surrendered, buying their lives with oaths; some fell in battle and others were taken prisoner. Poimanenon, Lentiana, Charioros, Berbeniakon were conquered by the Emperor. Indeed, the Emperor John fought the Latins in all kinds of ways: he built galleys and stationed them around the Hellespont in a place which is called Holkos. And he gave them a great deal of trouble; he set out against the west and plundered their lands, sacking the city of Madyta and Kallioupolis and all the coastal areas subject to the Italians.

XXIII. While the Emperor John was engaged in these affairs, and was fighting the Italians full force both on land and sea, a plot was hatched against him. The man who set it up was the Emperor's first cousin, Andronikos Nestongos. This man set no value on the bond of kinship and broke the tie of friendship, plotting insurrection against his first cousin the Emperor, with his brother Isaac and not a few other notables as accomplices: Phlamoules whom the Emperor had appointed megas hetaireiarches, Tarchaneotes,

Synadenos, his brother-in-law Stasenos, Makrenos, and a great number of others. But the plot was in the hatching for many days and the Emperor escaped. He learned about it while he was in Lampsakos. Thereupon, he destroyed the galleys with fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the Italians and judging the internal war to be of more consequence than the external one, he left and went to the area of Achyraous where he made an investigation into the plot. All the conspirators were liable to the [death] penalty. But the Emperor applied the law leniently and sentenced Alexios Nestongos, as well as Makrenos, to blinding and amputation of the hand. For it was exposed that often, behind the Emperor's back, he had wished to draw his sword and inflict a mortal wound. He subjected others to minor punishments. The majority he let go after having confined them in prison for a time but the master-mind of the plot, the one who longed after the imperial office, Andronikos Nestongos, he confined in the fortress of Magnesia; to such a degree did the bond of affection prevent the Emperor from harming him. He escaped a short time later, some said by the wish of the Emperor who ordered that he go free and planned that he steal his freedom in this way. Fleeing by night, he sought refuge in the land of the Muslims and lived there until the end of his life. From then on the Emperor acted more cautiously in his affairs and did not show his former openness but surrounded himself with sentinels and guards who watched his subjects day and night. The Empress Eirene in particular attended to these matters for she had a masculine character and confronted everyone in a most regal manner.

XXIV. Since the Italians wished to come to terms they also ceded the town of Pegai to the Emperor. And so the Emperor John made peace with them. The Latins surrendered to him all the territory towards the south while they kept in their possession the land to the north which neighboured on Constantinople and that which was near Nicomedia. But something else

happened before this. The inhabitants of Adrianople sent an embassy to the Emperor to dispatch an army to them and free them from the hands of the Italians. He sent the protostrator Ises with an army; John Kammytzes accompanied him. They crossed the Hellespont, travelled through Macedonia and arrived at Adrianople; when they had entered the city they took up residence there. It was the hope of the Emperor John to gain control of the surrounding area as well, by this means. But Theodore Komnenos, whom the account recently mentioned, was in possession of all the nearby territory except for the Rhodope mountains (also called Achridos), its towns, and Melenikon. Over these Sthlivos ruled, a kinsman of the Emperor Asen, who was made Despot by the Emperor of Constantinople, Henry, and whose illegitimate daughter he married. To draw the account out a little, this Sthlivos, upon obtaining the fortress of Melenikon, strong and impregnable to practically all invaders, was independent and subject to none of the surrounding rulers. Sometimes he was an ally of the Italians, siding with them because of his relationship by marriage; at other times he allied himself with the Bulgarians, conscious of belonging to the same race as them; at other times with Theodore Komnenos. He was never subordinate to anyone nor had dealings with anyone in good faith and agreement. After his wife's death he married the daughter of Petraliphas, brother to Theodore Komnenos' wife, about whom the account will speak later on. As I said, except for the lands subject to this Sthlivos, everything was under the control of Theodore Komnenos. When Mosynoupolis, Xanthia and Gratianoupolis itself were his, he crossed over the mountain of Stageira, which most people call Makre, and overran the lands beyond the Hebros, finding everything unguarded and unfortified. Then he went to Didymoteichon also and, not long after, was recognised as Emperor of those places. When he arrived at Adrianople he found within it the said Ises, the protostrator, and Kammytzes, with the army of the Emperor John. Beguiling the inhabitants with false promises that he would make them very wealthy and raise them above other Romans, he persuaded them to expel the

army of the Emperor and to admit him . Then the protostrator Ises and Kammytzes were led out with their army on oaths that no one would be harmed in any way. As they were leaving, the protostrator did not see Theodore Komnenos — for this had been agreed upon — but when Kammytzes chanced to see him, he did not dismount or make obeisance to him as to an Emperor. Theodore Komnenos was indignant at this for he wanted all Romans to consider him their Emperor, now that he was proclaimed Emperor, and he showered abuse on the man and all but hit him. This became an occasion for Kammytzes to win distinction in the Emperor's eyes. For as soon as they crossed the Hellespont and went to the Emperor, Kammytzes was given the honour of megas hetaireiarches because of it.

When Theodore Komnenos gained control of Adrianople as well, he gave the Italians a great deal of trouble. He overran all their holdings and went as far as Bizye itself, took possession of the area outside the town, plundered a great deal from there, and went as far as the very gates of Constantinople, greatly intimidating the Latins. It was then that Anselm of Cahieu, who was married to the daughter of the Emperor Theodore Laskaris, was wounded in the neck by an arrow from one of Theodore Komnenos' men. The wound appeared to be fatal but he was cured by [the skill of] the doctors. From that time on, however, his voice was rather hoarse and he found it difficult to turn his neck.

XXV. Since, then, Theodore Komnenos increased his power in this manner, he became a neighbour of the Bulgarians and made an agreement with the Emperor of the Bulgarians John Asen (whom the account recently mentioned as ruling over the lands of the Bulgarians as Emperor after Boril) and he established relations with him, taking for his brother Manuel Asen's illegitimate daughter. However, Theodore Angelos broke his agreement with John

Asen — since he was arrogant and undisciplined, not only in imperial affairs but also generally in all his public affairs, and often transgressed his oaths and broke his truce with his neighbours — and set out against the Bulgarians with a large army which he had assembled, composed of Romans and Italians. Passing through Adrianople, he marched around the area of the upper Hebros, desiring to provoke war with the Bulgarians. But he was really asking for his own destruction. For he thought that the Bulgarians would cower at the first attack of his army and would not put up any fight. However, the Bulgarians did not respond in this way. John Asen, taking more courage in Theodore Angelos' perjury and treaty-violations than in his own forces, gathered a small auxiliary force of Scythians, not even a thousand in number, and boldly went to battle. Some say that he hung on his military standard Theodore's written oath. The armies met somewhere near the banks of the Hebros — they call the place Klokotnitza. And, to make a long story short, Theodore was completely defeated by the Bulgarians and Scythians and he was captured by the enemy while not a few of his relations, officials and elite troops and all their possessions, became booty for the Bulgarians. Asen was kindly disposed towards the majority of the defeated and even freed the common people and the rabble and sent them to their villages and cities, ostensibly to be kind but probably also doing what was expedient for him. For he planned to be master of these men by making them defect from the Roman Empire. And he was successful. When he marched out against them immediately afterwards, they all went over to him without bloodshed. Adrianople became subject to him and nearby Didymoteichon, then all of Boleron, Serres, Pelagonia and Prilep and the surrounding area. He overran Great Vlachia but also gained possession of Elbanon and plundered as far as Illyricon. When he had accomplished most of what he had resolved [to do] and had arranged affairs to his liking, he returned to his own lands, leaving some of the fortresses to be ruled by Romans but subjecting most [of them] to his own authority, appointing to them soldiers and generals

and those who collect the public taxes. At that time he seemed to everyone to be both admirable and good. For he did not use the sword on his own people nor was he stained by the deaths of Romans, as were the preceeding rulers of the Bulgarians. Therefore he was regarded with affection not only by Bulgarians but also by Romans and other peoples.

XXVI. As the account related, when Theodore Angelos became Asen's booty along with the rest of his kinsmen and eminent men, he was imprisoned by him but was treated well for the most part. And this was so for a long time. But when it was discovered that he was attempting revolution in his own country, Asen blinded him. His brother, Manuel Angelos, who had been honoured by Theodore with the despotic rank, fled when the Roman army was routed and went to the area of Thessalonike. Having the title of Despot, he was master of this city and the area around it and authenticated his documents with signatures in red. One of the ambassadors sent to him by the Emperor John remarked mockingly that the hymn sung to Christ would be even more appropriate 'to you the Emperor and Lord'. From that time on Manuel Angelos was in control of the towns and cities in the western regions which had been left[unconquered]. For on the whole he was not troubled by the Bulgarians since he shared his bed with Asen's illegitimate daughter.

XXVII. But let the historical narrative return again to the Latins in Constantinople. As we related earlier, since Robert, whom the people in Constantinople had as their Emperor (as the account mentioned) died when he reached Euripos, leaving his brother Baldwin who was still underage, they[the Constantinopolitans] sent an embassy to John, the titular King of Jerusalem — who boasted a great reputation for his military stratagems and surpassed his contemporaries both in strength of arm and in

stature -- that he might come to them and be proclaimed Emperor of Constantinople and rule as Emperor over the people in the city. He would make Baldwin, whom they intended to be his heir, his son-in-law for he had a small daughter. After the King's death -- he was very old, about eighty years old or more (I saw this man myself and was greatly impressed by his size; he surpassed all others by far in every dimension, both in height and breadth) -- Baldwin, having matured by then, would rule over them. The King agreed to the embassy's proposals and arrived at Constantinople, making the journey by sea. For he did not have enough men to go overland. When he reached Constantinople he was not agreeable to going out and taking the initiative in battle. For it was known that the Emperor John was a most experienced commander, methodical in battles against enemies. Therefore, he came to regret the undertaking and that he had assumed the task in the first place. He used to declare that those who said that he would occupy territories whose Emperor did not know how to govern them, misunderstood the situation, if indeed they believed this to be so and were not deliberately provoking him for their own purposes. For he was right in thinking and saying that if the Emperor John had ten such lands to rule he would know how to govern and rule them as Emperor and preserve them from the enemy. And so, either because of this or because he had determined to enjoy himself to the full among the delights of Constantinople, he spent two years within the city. Only then did he prepare galleys and, assembling the strongest army he had, set out against the east. He was anchored at the port of Lampsakos just at the time when the Emperor John was returning from his battle against the Caesar Gabalas, whom he had fought because of his rebellion.

XXVIII. When the Emperor was encamped in the area of Staderia he assigned the troops and their generals to Andronikos Palaiologos (who was megas domestikos and about whom I spoke a little earlier) and dispatched him to

the island of Rhodes with sufficient galleys and other ships to try to attack the rebel with greater strength and inflict damage on him with all the methods of strategy he knew. When this had occurred and the affair concerning the Caesar was going according to the Emperor John's intention, he heard that the King was to leave Constantinople with the plan of sailing to Lampsakos, disembarking there and fighting the Romans. Then the Emperor left for Lampsakos with those men he happened to have with him — these were few since most of the army had gone home, worn out by the battle and the winter — and he encamped in the area of Sigrene.

XXIX. It was at that time also that my parents sent me from Constantinople to the Emperor. I was sixteen and had just completed my general education, commonly known as 'grammar'. My father had planned for me to slip away from the hands of the Latins secretly, for he was very much in their power, both because of his heavy expenses and their liberality [to him]. In addition, the fact that he had a large staff around him, children and servants, male and female, was no small impediment to him. But it was his intention at the time that when the opportunity arose he would take a risk in leaving (if this should be necessary) and carry out his plan. It was for this reason that he sent me ahead to the Emperor. But a serious illness prevented him [from following]. He became half-dead, shrivelled to nearly half his size and died after two years in which he was confined to bed. I was left in the palace, a beneficiary of imperial charity.

XXX. As we said, when the King John, who was also called Emperor of Constantinople, arrived at Lampsakos, he anchored his ships near a place called Holkos. But since the Emperor John was not accompanied by an army sufficient to block the other's disembarkment (for the reason which I mentioned), he hindered the movements of the enemy by tactical means with

the few men he had. Then the Latins and their King John disembarked and marched along the coast but they were not able to go any farther away from their ships since the Emperor followed them closely, making counter moves, and was able to restrain his adversary with a very small force. The Emperor proceeded along the foot of the mountain, the Italians along the shore. When they had spent a short time in the Emperor's coastal area (four months had not yet passed) and they had covered a short distance (they went from Lampsakos to Kenchreai), causing little or no destruction (for the Emperor managed to salvage all the provisions by taking them to higher ground), they left for the town of Pegai, having captured only one fortress, which is called Keramidas and is situated near the mountains of Cyzicus. They had their ships ready to sail back to Constantinople and they might have departed full of shame and [a sense of] loss, if they had not mastered the town of Pegai by fraud. For one man, an agile rock-climber, found a path by which he led some armed Latins up to the acropolis at night. These men suddenly attacked the sentries, killed them and took the town. This intimidated the Romans for a short time, for the city was full of good and worthy men who were among the most distinguished of soldiers, but the Emperor's resourcefulness and military ability shook the Romans out of their cowardice and struck terror into the Latins, checking their natural élan and the aggressiveness which had arisen in them as a result of their conquests. And so they returned to Constantinople having accomplished little or nothing, as I said.

XXXI. As the Emperor John was adept at finding means to look after his own in critical times (more explanation is required of this) and to restrain his adversary, he found a way of fulfilling both [requirements] so that his own hand could be strengthened by both. Since he had a son by the Empress Eirene (named after his grandfather, the Emperor Theodore Laskaris) who was eleven years old at the time, and Asen had a little daughter Helen, nine years old, by his Hungarian wife, the Emperor sent

an embassy to the ruler of the Bulgarians, Asen, suggesting the betrothal of the children, a family relationship between the men and their mutual comradeship and support. Asen received the embassy and an agreement was drawn up and oaths taken upon it.

XXXII. It was at that time that I was captivated by love of the mathematical sciences and higher education in letters. Putting everything [else]aside, at the Emperor's wish, I offered myself at the gates of instruction in logic with other young men. Theodore Hexapterygus was our teacher. When we assembled before the Emperor he said, directing his words towards me,

I have taken them [the young men] from Nicaea and handed them over to the school but you I have taken from my own home and sent you off together with them to be taught. Demonstrate, then, that you have indeed come from my home and exert yourself in your studies. For if you were to become a soldier by occupation, you would have a living from my Majesty, or perhaps a little more because of your distinguished family. But if you show yourself to be a man filled with love of learning, you may be deemed worthy of great honours and rewards. For the Emperor and the philosopher are the most highly renowned of all men.

Thus, I left the palace and went and placed myself — I was then nearly seventeen — in the hands of the instructor. He was, as I said, Hexapterygus, a man not very learned in the mathematical sciences, but a good speaker, having spent a long time in rhetorical studies and having been trained in skilful expression, for which he was much renowned. When he died, after he had elucidated poetry for us and had taught the art of expression, I and those who were completing the study of logic with me, went to Nikephoros Blemmydes, whom we all then knew to be more accomplished than others in philosophical sciences. So much about me for the time being. Let the account once again take up where it left off.

XXXIII. As I said before, when the treaty of cooperation had been arranged between both Emperors, I mean the Emperor John Doukas and the ruler of the Bulgarians, John Asen, the Emperor went ahead and occupied Lampsakos and crossed over to Kallioupolis with his own forces. After he had set up siege towers, he made war on the town and conquered it in a short time, recovering it from the hands of the Venetians. After this Asen arrived at Kallioupolis with his wife, Maria of Hungary, and his daughter Helen. He met with the Emperor there and both men negotiated with a view to friendship. However, he [Asen] did not cross the Hellespont but remained in the region of Kallioupolis. Taking his [Asen's] wife and daughter Helen, the Emperor John made the crossing to Lampsakos — the Empress Eirene was there — and they concluded the betrothal of the children with the Patriarch Germanos officiating at the divine service. It was at that time too that the Archbishop of Trnovo, who was subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, was honoured with autonomy and it was approved by imperial and synodal ordinance that he be proclaimed Patriarch, a favour bestowed by the authorities on the ruler of the Bulgarians, Asen, because of the family ties and the friendly relationship [that had been established].

Therefore, when everything relating to such matters had been accomplished, the Empress Eirene accompanied her son and daughter-in-law to the eastern territories and Asen's wife returned to her home .. But the Emperor John and Asen, with their own forces accompanying them, together overran the western territory which was subject to the Latins. They took much booty, reducing everything to a Scythian desert,* as the saying goes, and they divided the towns and territory between themselves, according to their sworn agreements. Since Kallioupolis had been captured by the Emperor before he was joined by Asen, it became subject to the Emperor; likewise

* See the Corpus Paroemographorum Graecorum I, edd. E.L. Leutsch, R. Schneidewin (Hildesheim, 1958), 2nd edn., 453, 456.

Madyta and the whole of the Chersonesos, as it is called. The Emperor also captured the fortress of Kissos and set his boundaries as far as the river which is popularly known as the Maritza. In addition, he gained possession of the Ganos mountain on which he built a fortress; he dispatched Nicholas Kotertzes to guard it and to give trouble to the Latins in Tzourouloa . The man had been tested by many battles and was so highly esteemed that everyone was of the opinion that there never had been and never would be anyone who had undertaken such feats or had accomplished so much. Asen, for his part, had control of the territory beyond, and to the north of the places mentioned. Both men went as far as the very walls of Constantinople while King John sat on them and watched, and they struck great terror into the Latins and put their affairs in straitened circumstances. But since autumn was ending and winter approaching, the Emperor John and Asen took leave of each other, the latter departing for his own land, that of the Bulgarians, while the Emperor crossed over to the east.

XXXIV. Since his son Theodore was a child (for he had completed his eleventh year, as we said, when he was joined in marriage to the Empress Helen), the marriage remained unconsummated. They were raised and educated by the Empress Eirene as she was a good natured person who was disposed to good works of all kinds. At that time the affairs of the Latins were very much in decline and so their spirit was considerably dampened by the marriage alliance of the two Emperors. King John died a short time later, leaving his [position of] authority to his son-in-law Baldwin as an inheritance. But Asen, it seems, came to regret his agreement with the Emperor John and sought a way to separate his daughter from her husband the Emperor Theodore and to marry her to another. For he very much feared the success of the Romans, since the people he ruled had been subjects of the Romans long ago. He thought of an excuse which seemed reasonable (although it did not fool those who knew the facts) and he sent am-

bassadors to the Emperor and Empress, saying that since he and his wife would be near Adrianople, they wished to see their little daughter, give her a fatherly embrace, observe the proprieties and send her back to her father- and mother-in-law again. Then, although the Emperor John and the Empress Eirene saw through the act completely and clearly recognised the trick, they sent Asen his daughter, saying that if he should detain her and deprive her of her legally wedded husband, there is a God who observes everything and visits punishment on those who transgress oaths and agreements which they have entered upon with Him as a witness. However, the Bulgarian took his daughter and left, forcing all her attendants to rush back. He crossed the Haimos and proceeded towards Trnovo, with his daughter crying and moaning all the while and greatly lamenting the separation from her father-in-law, the Empress Eirene, and her husband. Whereupon, they say, Asen took her and sat her in front of him on his saddle, hitting her on the head with his knuckles and threatening her violently that if she did not behave quietly, he would do to her everything imaginable.

XXXV. It was about that time too that the Scythian race was overrun by the Tatars. When all those who escaped death at their sword crossed the Ister on skin bags and passed over the Haimos with wives and children, they occupied the lands of Macedonia, although against the Bulgarians' wish, for there were many thousands of them. Some made their grazing grounds the plain near the Hebros; others [chose] the lower region and the river which, as we said, the indiscriminately babbling tongue calls the Maritza. (It is really the Hebros which runs as far as Ainos and there flows into the Aegean sea, but since other rivers flow into it and enlarge it, it is known by a different name to the people who live near it.) They plundered everything in Macedonia and in a short time they stripped bare the possessions of the inhabitants, creating a Scythian desert, to quote the saying^{*}, and took whatever fortresses were easily taken by assault.

* See XXXIII.

Many were killed, everyone was despoiled, taken captive and ransomed in the large towns, such as Adrianople, Didymoteichon, Bizye, Kallioupolis and any other place fortified with strong walls and protected by the number of its inhabitants.

XXXVI. After this had taken place, the Latin race, which always nurtures a passionate hatred for us, was even worse disposed[towards us] because of the recent attack on them by the Emperor John and Asen and because of the loss of their lands and fortresses. They were looking for the opportunity to attack us and they thought that they found the means to make good their discomfiture at that time. First they won over Asen, concluding a peace treaty with him. Then, along with him, they made the Scythians accomplices in their actions, barbarian men, vagrants and intruders whom they attracted with small favours and larger promises. When the Italians had assembled this alliance of Scythians and Bulgarians, they advanced together against the Emperor John. Since the town of Tzouroulos happened to be nearby, they made war on it, with Asen present in person, and with many thousand Scythian and Bulgarian contingents and Italian machines. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes (the Emperor's epi tes trapezes at that time, later megas domestikos) had been given [command of] the garrison of Tzouroulos by the Emperor John. He was the son-in-law of the megas domestikos Palaiologos by marriage to his eldest daughter Maria. Tarchaneiotes was a good soldier and a fine general and greatly profited by God's help, as was observed throughout. For it seemed to many people that he succeeded more by good fortune rather than by courage and strategy. The Italians had many machines and strong siege towers capable of taking not only a town of this size but also higher walls and larger cities. But it was when they had taken up a position near the town that the epi tes trapezes and those with him clearly displayed a brave spirit and military skill; yet it was actually [the result of] God's help. Tarchaneiotes fought back from

within against the machines outside and he contended against an enormous army with the bravery of a very small number of soldiers. The Emperor John was in difficulty, not so much because the people inside the town were in great distress but because, being prudent and shrewd in military matters, he knew that if the town were taken by the enemy, all his accomplishments in the west would be undone. For a while, then, on this occasion he preferred to distract the enemy and to break the force of their attack. For his possessions in the east were of more importance to him; it was a greater source of relief to him that they should be free of warfare.

While the town of Tzouroulos was under siege, Asen unexpectedly received a message that his wife, the Hungarian woman, had died and that his child and the Bishop of Trnovo had also died at the same time. Believing this to be [a sign of] God's wrath, he burned the siege towers and went to Trnovo as quickly as he could. The Italians were then left behind alone, but since there was not enough of them to besiege the town, they also abandoned the battle and left for Constantinople. The city was therefore released from the enemy siege, as was Tarchaneiotos, the epi tes trapezes, who emerged a victory-bearer, true to his name. Since the aforementioned misfortunes befell Asen, he began to think rather more piously that these things had happened because he had transgressed the oaths he had concluded with the Emperor John and because he had separated his daughter from her husband Theodore. Repenting of these acts, he sent an embassy to the Emperor, blaming himself for his evil action, calling for a renewal of their treaty, and asking to be pardoned for what he had done. Since the Emperor John and the Empress Eirene were inclined to righteousness and holiness, they received the embassy and, without discussing the matter at length, reaffirmed the sworn agreements and sent for their daughter-in-law Helen. She was sent to her father-in-law and husband and there was peace once again between Romans and Bulgarians.

XXXVII. The course of my story now takes another turn and will explain what was happening in Constantinople. For such was the state of disintegration at that time on account of the generally prevailing polyarchy that my narrative must of necessity be arranged piecemeal. Now, since Baldwin, the reigning Emperor of Constantinople as the narrative mentioned above, failed in his battles against the Romans or, rather, in his opposition to the Emperor John — for his possessions had been much diminished by the latter — he went off to see the King of the Franks who was a near blood relation and furthermore, being a fellow-countryman, was a great enemy of the Romans and for these reasons willing to assist. Baldwin asked him for considerable military aid and was successful. In a short time sixty thousand Franks were assembled with the purpose of marching against the Romans. But, as a sea passage was not feasible for them, since putting to sea required more resources than they had at their disposal, they made the journey by land. They passed by upper Gaul, through Italy by the skirts of the Alps, and came to Ostriakon[Austria]and when they had summoned Hungary to their aid, they crossed the Ister and turned towards the land of the Bulgarians, treating everyone along the way as friends and relations. They were also treated kindly, both for their own sake and also especially because of the animosity felt towards us by the local rulers. The Bulgarians, overlooking their truce with the Romans, gave the Franks permission to cross their mountains, supposedly because they were forced to let them pass. Therefore, the town of Tzouroulos was again taken when the Latins, allied with the Scythians, attacked it. John Petraliphas commanded the garrison there, a valiant man in deed and experienced in military affairs since his youth; he had been made megas chartoularios by the Emperor John. The superiority of the Latin force, the great number of Scythians, and the quantity and strength of the siege towers forced him to surrender the town to the Italians. But some say that there was a secret plot to betray the city and that it was from this source that the unexpected capture was to

be feared. And so the Latins conquered Tzouroulos and they took its Roman inhabitants together with Petraliphas as prisoners to Constantinople and ransomed them to their own kinsmen.

While the town of Tzouroulos was under siege from the Italians, the Emperor John prepared several galleys and set out against the Italians with a large army. He departed from Nicomedia, passed by Charax, took the opportunity to besiege and occupy Dakibyza as well as the fortress of Niketiates which he also made subject to him. However, on this occasion he was unlucky with his galleys since the men on board were inexperienced in fighting and Iophre, the Armenian who was their appointed commander, was reluctant to fight. Manuel Kontophre had preceded him in the command, a valiant man of warrior spirit both on land and sea. But some days earlier he had made some bold statements to the Emperor about the navy. He had said that our galleys could not face those of the Italians even if we were to multiply their number — for he knew precisely the relative strength of either side — and so he was dismissed from the command and Iophre succeeded to it. But he suffered a very serious defeat. For he had command of thirty galleys but was defeated by thirteen, losing as many ships as the enemy had, each one of them [the enemy ships] gained as spoil one galley with its men and weapons. So much for these matters. But the Emperor John was again at peace with the Emperor Asen and both were bound by their kinship, even though Asen did not strictly keep to the terms of the oaths of the agreement. For there were times when he transgressed these a little to his own advantage. But for the time being he made a public and general show of affection and friendship.

XXXVIII. Since, then, John Asen was bereft of his wife, a Hungarian woman, as the narrative already related, he married Eirene, Theodore Angelos' tall and beautiful daughter, taking no account of his affinity with her father's brother, the latter being in carnal union with an illegitimate daughter of his. (Theodore Angelos had two sons, John and Demetrios, and

two daughters, Anna and the said Eirene by whom Asen had three children, Michael, Theodore and Maria.) It was for this reason that Theodore Angelos was freed from imprisonment and, with the consent of his son-in-law Asen, determined to take possession of Thessalonike and all the territory which he had previously ruled. Since he could not attack his brother Manuel openly, accompanied by a few men supplied by Asen, he contrived a secret entry into Thessalonike, dressing himself in some paltry rags and thus stealing his way into the city. When he entered and made himself known to some men whom he liked (he befriended and helped them when he prospered), he ventured his plan against his brother with them. It was not long before he was again in control of Thessalonike and the surrounding cities and lands. He did not wish to be proclaimed Emperor because of the loss of his eyes, but he named his son John Emperor, put the red slippers on his feet and empowered him to sign his name in letters of the same colour, while he himself managed public affairs and carried out his son's duties. He removed his brother Manuel from power, put him in a ship and exiled him to Attaleia, sending Manuel's wife to her father Asen. But Asen was more fond of his father-in-law Theodore than his son-in-law Manuel; for he loved his wife Eirene to distraction, no less than Anthony [loved] Cleopatra.

When Manuel came ashore at Attaleia, he found that the descendants of ⁺Hagar were hospitable to him beyond his expectations. For when he said that he was making his way to the Emperor John, they allowed him passage and * * *, giving him necessary supplies. From there he went to the Emperor who gave him a warm welcome as a kinsman and a former Despot. He gave him money and six galleys and sent him to the area of Great Vlachia, after exacting solemn oaths from him, since he was a sharp and shrewd man. When Manuel arrived in the region of Demetrias, he indicated his arrival to some of his retainers by letters; he lured others with promises. It was not long before he had gathered an army about him and ruled Pharsala, Larissa,

+ Muslims, Ismaelites: Genesis 16, 1-15.

Platamon and their surroundings. Then he made an agreement and joined with his brothers Constantine and Theodore. As we have related, Constantine was a Despot and ruled over those places which we said he ruled over, while Theodore was the father of the John who was proclaimed Emperor in Thessalonike. When they joined together, both brothers persuaded Manuel to abandon his agreement with the Emperor John. Those who happened to be present and knew about this matter said that he consented to their wishes willy-nilly. And from that time on they were united, each content with the lands they had shared out among themselves and having peace agreements with the Latins in the Peloponnese and in Euripos.

XXXIX. Manuel died before long, repentant, they say, of his breach of promise to the Emperor. The Empress Eirene died also, a sagacious woman of royal blood and very much an example of imperial majesty. She enjoyed discourse and took delight in listening to learned men. She respected them exceedingly, as can be seen from the following example. There was an eclipse around midday, as the sun was passing through Cancer. Since, when it happened, I was in the imperial residence — the Emperor and the Empress were residing near a place they call Periklystra — the Emperor asked me the reason for the eclipse. I could not say exactly, for I had just been initiated into the mysteries of philosophy, instructed by the learned Blemmydes. However, at that time I knew as much as it was possible to learn from him and I said that the reason for the overshadowing was the superposition of the moon and although the sun appeared to be gone, in fact, the loss of light was not real; however, the moon does undergo this [deprivation of light] when it falls under the shade of the earth since it gets its light from the sun. As the discussion dragged on, the physician Nicholas objected to what was being said. He was a man with very little knowledge of philosophy, although he was consummate in his own profession and especially in the practical side of it. The Empress prized him a great deal; he held the dignity of aktouarios. At any rate, since he was objecting, I was all the more talkative. In the

midst of the discussion the Empress called me a fool. Then, as if she had done something unsoemly, she turned to the Emperor and said, 'Perhaps I spoke inappropriately in calling him a fool?' And the Emperor replied, 'It is nothing unusual, for he is a young man' (I was twenty-one years old then) 'and the name is not altogether unfitting.' But the Empress said, 'It is not right for us to address in this manner him who pronounces learned expositions.' I have related this incident in order to show how she loved learning and how she respected those who are knowledgeable. As I said, this Empress died. I believe that the eclipse of the sun foretold her death. Also, six months earlier, a comet appeared in the north. It was a bearded star and lasted three months, appearing not in one, but in various places.

A short time later, Asen, the ruler of the Bulgarians, also died. He showed himself to be outstanding among barbarians, not only towards his own people but also with respect to foreigners. He was most hospitable to those foreigners who went over to him and especially to the Romans, generously providing them with a living. When he died, his son by his Hungarian wife, whom they called Kaliman, succeeded to power. This Kaliman also had a sister whose name was Thamar. (Three children were born to Asen by Angelos' daughter, a son Michael, and, as we mentioned, daughters, Maria and Anna.) Kaliman took up his father's authority and renewed the treaties with the Emperor John and there was peace in these affairs.

When Manuel, Theodore's brother died, his nephew Michael gained possession of the territory which he had held and he added it to his own land. Theodore Angelos, whose son John was known as Emperor in Thessalonike and the surrounding area, his uncle Constantine who was also called Despot, and his nephew Michael were at peace again.

XL. Since the Bulgarian Asen was out of the way and a young boy ruled over the land of the Bulgarians, the Emperor John, taking advantage of the respite, attempted to do away with the imperial title bestowed on John, the

son of Angelos. First he lured John's father Theodore with messages. And, indeed, since Theodore went about his business without caution, he went to the Emperor John suspecting nothing of what was to happen. The Emperor made him welcome and honoured him, calling him uncle, seating him at his own table and extending all the usual courtesies. Since he had him in his hands, and it happened that a powerful army of Scythians had been added to his Roman forces, the Emperor left the east, crossed the Hellespont and advanced against John (who was recognised as reigning Emperor in Thessalonike) with his Roman and Scythian forces accompanying him. The Emperor John had won the latter over a short time ago with gifts and lavish donations, had converted them from their wild habits and moved them away from Macedonia, transferring them to the eastern regions. He had confidence in them and did not have anything to fear from the Bulgarians, partly because of the existing treaties and partly because the Bulgarian state was being run by a boy. When he had passed through the regions of Thrace and Macedonia and left behind Christoupolis and the Strymon, he turned his attention to the fortress of Rentina which was guarded by some of John's men. These men deserted the fortress, even before they caught sight of the Emperor John's armies and, fleeing at full speed, went to Thessalonike. The Emperor's men, finding it [the fortress] empty of soldiers, occupied it and established a garrison. The Emperor assembled his entire army and encamped fairly near Thessalonike, about eight stades away. The name of the place was 'the orchard of Probatas'. It was not easy for him to set up siege towers and machines against a city of such size and to conquer it by that kind of warfare, therefore, he made raids and plundered all the surrounding lands with his troops and especially with the Scythians. They plundered everything. He had ships with him as well which Manuel Kontophre commanded. The Emperor was accompanied by distinguished men: Demetrios Tornikes who managed public affairs and acted as mesazon; Andronikos Palaiologos who exercised the authority of megas domestikos,

directing the affairs of the armies, and many others, appointed as commanders, Alexios Raoul, protovetlarios, Nikephoros Tarchaneiotos, epi tes trapezes, Kontostephanos who held the dignity of protosebastos, Petraliphas who held the title of megas chartoularios, as well as several other distinguished men. The Emperor John encamped nearby and did everything he could do against the city. Those inside did not hesitate to act; they came out of the gates and charged against the Emperor's men.

Not many days had passed when the Tatar race advanced upon the Muslims, made war against them, and won a victory. The news reached the Emperor who was informed by his son the Emperor Theodore. He had left him behind to reside in the region of Pegai, together with John Mouzalon who was then a monk but had been a mystikos when he had a secular rank, a sharp-witted and energetic man, suited to imperial affairs more than others, and Michael Libadarios, the megas hetaireiarches. At any rate, when the Emperor heard the report, he ordered those who knew about it to keep silent and to communicate with no one on the subject, and he set out to come to an agreement with John [who was] within [the city], using John's father, Theodore Angelos, as an ambassador in this matter. After forty days, treaties were drawn up and oaths issued. John took off the red slippers and the 'pyramid' studded with pearls and crowned with a red gem, these being imperial insignia. He was honoured by the Emperor with the despotic rank and he declared himself to be well-disposed towards the Emperor. When the Emperor had accomplished these things, he returned to the east, leaving the Emperor [in Thessalonike] as a Despot and subject, having bound him with the customary oaths, honoured him with fitting gifts, and distributed largesse to all his subjects. He left his father Theodore with him.

XLI. The Emperor John arrived in the east. When he had passed the winter season in Nymphaion as was his custom, he left and went to the area of

Lampsakos. There he spent the summer and the autumn but when winter set in, moving on, he left for the region of Pegai. But on the way the Emperor experienced a great storm which began when he encamped at Sigrene. He suffered hardship for two days in the fierceness of the storm and the violent drifting of the snow, until he reached the town of Pegai. Many men died on the way and many women. Those who took count said that up to three hundred people were buried by the snow, for they did not have the strength to withstand the force of the wind. People who experienced it said that they had never known such a winter. It was then the eighteenth of December in the six thousandth, seven hundredth and forty-first year [1232], I believe. The Emperor sojourned in the town of Pegai until the greater part of the winter was over and then left and went to Nymphaion where he stayed until the brightening of spring.

As we said, when the army of the Muslims was destroyed by the Tatars, a Sultan ruled whose name was Iathatines, son of the Sultan Azatines; he was a poor leader who was descended from a good one. For he took pleasure in drinking and licentiousness, in strange and unnatural bedfellows and was always in the company of creatures who had no knowledge of reason or even of human nature. His father was not the same sort of person, although he too gave way to licentiousness but not very much. For this reason he was a better general than his predecessors and was well-disposed towards the Emperor. But his son enjoyed his pleasures to excess. And so he took on the Tatars in battle and was defeated. Since he was in a difficult situation, he sent ambassadors to the Emperor John, asking for advice as to the best way for him to turn back the adversary and lighten his burden a little, saying that this would be a salvation for both men. For, with the destruction of the Muslim race by the Tatars, [access to] Roman territories would be left open to enemy attack. And this was certainly very true. The Emperor John, being adept in matters of this

kind, welcomed the embassy and chose to unite with the Sultan so that this might deter the enemy. For with two great leaders joined together it was probable that the enemy would be frightened, since they would have set their aim against one [enemy] but would find themselves pitted against two together. Having thus made preparations, both the Emperor John and the Sultan Iathatines met in the town of Tripolis where the Maiander river flows. The Sultan's men improvised a bridge of timber, facilitating the crossing for those who wished [to make it]. The leaders greeted each other in friendly fashion, as did the dignitaries among each others' subordinates. When they had strengthened the agreements which they had already made to join forces against the enemy, they separated, the Emperor turning back to Philadelphia, the Sultan to the city of Iconium where he had his court. Hostilities then ceased for both sides. For the Tatar army kept to itself and was not on the move, as was its custom, since the Tatars were occupied with their own affairs.

XLIII. Not long after, the aforementioned John, the one who had been made Despot by the Emperor John, died. He had a brother Demetrios who sent an embassy to the Emperor and inherited his brother's dignity of Despot and was appointed to rule all the lands which had been subject to the deceased. Yet he was not of the same temperament as his brother John but differed from him to a large degree. For the deceased took pleasure in piety, reverence and temperance. Those who knew his ways used to say that unless some illness prevented him he never let one day of the year pass without attending the divine liturgy. He devoted himself to all-night vigils and filled every day with hymns at the appointed hours. He was forever conversing with Nazarenes^{*} and he made an effort to share in the greater part of the monastic life and to have real experience of the peace that accompanies it, rather than being simply well-

* Monks: Du Cange, Glossarium, 983-984; Suidas, Lexicon ed. A. Adler, II (Leipzig, 1933), 434.

disposed to those who live this way. But his brother Demetrios was of a completely different nature. He conversed with silly youths with whom he had much in common, and lived a promiscuous sexual life, consorting with married women, with the result that once a serious mishap befell him. For, when the husband of the woman he was sleeping with discovered them, Demetrios tried to escape from the window but, falling as he did from a great height, wounded his backside. He suffered for several days but he recovered, although he limped a little in one leg and did not walk smoothly. But this man [Demetrios] did not enjoy power for long, for the Emperor John, taking advantage of the respite at that time, crossed the Hellespont in the summer, leaving his son Theodore behind in the east. As we said, the Tatar race was occupied with other peoples, since they had abandoned their battle with the Sultan of Iconium and were waging war against the Babylonian, whom the Muslim tribes are accustomed to call 'Kaliph', and the lands around him.

Some time earlier the Patriarch Germanos left behind the things of this world and departed for the heavenly mansions, having lived a good and holy life and having tended his flock well. A certain Methodios, a monk who was the abbot of the Hyakinthos monastery in Nicaea, succeeded him. He boasted that he had knowledge of many things; in fact, he knew very little. But he had the benefit of the throne for only three months before he died. The Church was then without a high-priest^{*}, for the Emperor John, not being hasty in such matters, could not easily find the right person at hand or rather, could not find someone who was agreeable to him. For, of course, in such matters rulers tend to go for men who are agreeable to them so as not to have any opponents to their wishes. Therefore, much time passed and there was no one to look after the flock.

* See note on 29, 12-15.

XLIII. As we said, the Emperor John made his way along the other, the western side, in order to inspect the lands and towns in that area. He was master of all the territory up to the town called Zichna which is somewhere near Serres. Asen's son Kaliman, a twelve-year old, then ruled the Bulgarians. When the Emperor arrived at the region of Kissos, he passed the day there and continued the march on the following day, reaching the area of the Hebros river (called the Maritza in rustic speech) which flows near the monastery of Veros. As the Emperor was in the middle of [crossing] the river — it could be forded by horses since it was the end of the summer; it was the third or fourth day of late September — a message was conveyed that Kaliman, the ruler of the Bulgarians, had come to the end of his days. The news was reported in a letter sent by the man who held the public command of Achridos. Some said that he had succumbed to a natural illness, others, that he was killed by a fatal draught secretly prepared by his enemies. But he died, one way or another; the report was true for it was substantiated by continual messages.

When the Emperor learned this, he pressed forward and quickly reached Philippi, passing by Christoupolis. There he deliberated with his officers as to whether he should attack the territories of the Bulgarians and take some of the lands held by them and whether it was advisable for us to conquer the town of Serres. Some men dissuaded the Emperor from battle against the Bulgarians. They said that the army was not adequate since it was not at all prepared for battle but had set out only for inspection of his [the Emperor's] territory. Besides, the town of Serres which would have to be attacked first was impregnable because it was on a height and it was not easy to surround it with such an army, while it was impossible to set up siege towers against it. To attack and to be beaten off in the attempt would be a source of shame for the authority of the Roman Empire — for their reputation in these matters was very great —

and it was not expedient to provoke the Bulgarians to battle at the moment since they were at peace. This was the advice of those who dissuaded the Emperor from the undertaking. But Andronikos Palaiologos, whom my account mentioned earlier as megas domestikos, gave the opposite advice to the Emperor:

We must make an attempt on the town of Serres. If we should gain control of it, we would have no small profit; the Bulgarian state will be humbled and they will receive an embassy of goodwill more readily. Since their master has died, another child is destined to rule the Bulgarians, Michael, the son born to Asen by Eirene, daughter of Theodore Angelos. If it should happen that we do not conquer the town, what will the Roman Empire lose as a result? Having made the attempt we shall rest and again send an embassy to the Bulgarians. They will welcome it since they are ruled by a child who does not know what war is about. All men love peace since repose is their aim.

It seemed to the Emperor that the megas domestikos had given him excellent advice and so he started on the road to Serres as quickly as he could. When he was nearly there he encamped and took up a position against it. He made his attempt on the city with strategy and stratagems but certainly not with an army large enough for the task for, as we said, he did not have many men at that time. Serres was formerly a large city but the Bulgarian John ruined it when he besieged it along with the other cities of Macedonia; at that time it was like a village, with its acropolis alone surrounded by a wall and prepared to face battle. Its guardian was a Bulgarian man, Dragotas by name, who had his home at Melenikon. Since the lower city of Serres had no wall — the devastated area was supposedly fortified all around with stones but the stones were without mortar and did not rise up to a height — the Emperor assembled the hired servants of the soldiers, called the Tzouloukones in the vulgar tongue, and challenged them to conquer it since they were in need of provisions; for they had left their homes in search of the necessities. When they saw that the place was

easy of attack, they took their bows, and swords as well, and some boards which they improvised as shields, and holding these in front of themselves, they raised the battle cry and advanced against the [lower] town as they shouted; in a few hours they had entered it. They plundered whatever they found. Those inside who had not managed to flee to the acropolis emerged as suppliants to the Emperor. Dragotas, the commander of the town, was a Bulgarian who had little experience in defending a town for a long period. When he saw that the lower town had been taken and learned of the death of his master, by good fortune he did not wait long before he sent an embassy to the Emperor. And the town forthwith acclaimed the Emperor, while Dragotas donned a purple cloak woven with gold [thread] and was given a great quantity of gold coins. He made fine promises to the Emperor on behalf of Melenikon and, what is more, they were genuine.

XLIV. Dragotas took all these things from the Emperor and departed, having been set as bait. When he reached Melenikon, he revealed everything to the inhabitants and incited them to surrender the town to the Emperor, not saying this openly but secretly deliberating on the matter with the majority. Since Nicholas Litovoes who was in charge of the town, was ill and confined to bed by the pain in his legs, all were free to act as they wished. Nicholas Manglavites, one of the most prominent inhabitants of Melenikon, an energetic man and one adept at adapting himself to changing circumstances, detected Dragotas' plan and knew that he might be able to fulfil the promises made to the Emperor. Spurning secrecy, he assembled the greater part of the population and openly suggested to all the expedient thing to do, saying,

We had to put up with the government of the child Kaliman but we hoped that he would reach manhood and we would be repaid for our perseverance when he came of age and was able to distinguish a good man from a bad one. As we had the misfortune of missing out on this opportunity and another baby is about to govern the Bulgarians, we might seem worse than complete fools if we were to let ourselves in for more bad luck again by choosing to spend a whole lifetime without a master, a situation from which greater dangers arise. But since

the Emperor of the Romans has approached us, we must put ourselves in his hands. He is a faithful master who knows a good man from a bad one and has a long-standing right with regard to us. For our lands belong to the Roman Empire -- the Bulgarians were greedy and became masters of Melenikon -- and we all originate from Philippoupolis and are pure Romans by race. Besides, the Emperor of the Romans really has a right to be involved in our affairs even if we belong to the Bulgarians since his son, the Emperor Theodore, became the son-in-law of the Emperor of the Bulgarians Asen, and now the wife of this Emperor, the Emperor Asen's daughter, is Empress of the Romans both in name and in fact. For all these reasons, then, we must stop all our talking and go to him, bending our necks beneath the yoke of submission. For the yoke of the sensible and mature Emperor is beneficial and lighter by far than that of those who are still children.

With these words he persuaded them all, with no toil or trouble, to become the Emperor's men. What is more, they sent some of their fellow inhabitants as ambassadors, perhaps in secret, although they were probably known to most, and made an agreement with the Emperor. A chrysobull was drawn up by the Emperor which took their requests into account and it was given to the ambassadors of Melenikon with the enjoinder that it should be dispatched to the inhabitants. Not long after, all those who had gathered together with one accord, magnates, men enrolled in the army and those of the inhabitants generally of the better sort, went to the Emperor who was encamped in a place called something like Valavisda. They were over five hundred in number, well-turned out and of high repute, men worthy of respect and esteem by their very appearance. Upon seeing them I exclaimed, 'What battle have they in store for us? How many contingents of cavalrymen would be needed to overcome such as these?' But even impossible things are easy and need little effort in the presence of the higher powers. From this it is clear that what the Apostle Paul said is true: 'It [success] depends not on the man who seeks nor the man who pursues but on the one who has the approval of God.' * For this reason one must not wholly praise or censure the general. Some contended against a great deal both zealously and earnestly, taking advantage of the circum-

* Romans ix, 16.

stances most energetically, but accomplished little or nothing. Some even failed completely. Others, possessed of good fortune, have proceeded in their actions unprepared and have singlehandedly produced great victories, as was then the case with the Emperor John. For in a single moment he became lord of many towns and lands without war, battle casualties, shedding of blood, or triumph of sword over body. He ruled over all these places without toil, calmly and tranquilly just as if this were some paternal inheritance belonging to him. Stenimachos, Tzepaina and many small towns and village-towns which lie near the Rhodope mountains were made tributary to him and the Hebros river was the boundary between him and the Bulgarians. In the region towards the north, Stoumpion, Chotovos, and some other strongholds, as well as the area of Velevousdion, Skoplje and Veles were the Emperor's. Everything as far as Prilep and the territory of Pelagonia, Neustapolis and Prosek were in the Emperor's hands. A treaty was drawn up between the Emperor and the Bulgarian stating that he [the Emperor] would be satisfied with these places alone and would not go beyond. Events took this turn. I myself assisted in the epistolary aspects of the business, drafting an imperial writ for each of the captured towns and territories. For it is an old custom among the Emperors of the Romans to make their accomplishments known to those far away through letters and to arouse them to the pleasure in which they too have a share through the deeds that have been done.

XLV. When the Emperor had accomplished these things, the cause of great pleasure to himself, as, no less, to all the Romans who saw an increase in the state and an expansion of the Empire, he planned to return home to the east. Indeed the weather made this necessary for October had passed and it was nearly the middle of November. However, a good and very advantageous reason prevented the move. As we related earlier, the city of Thessalonike recognised Theodore's son Demetrios as lord, with the title of Des-

pot. He was given the honour of Despot by the Emperor as well. But, as mentioned earlier, the boy was reckless and fit only to occupy himself with childish games and boys' playthings, not to lead intelligent men or to govern and exercise legal authority; therefore, some men concocted a plot against him. Of these men, the notable and well-known were Spartenos, Kampanos, Iatropoulos and Koutzoulatos, while the distinguished ones were Michael Laskaris and Tzyrithon, to whom the Emperor John gave the honour of megas chartouarios. Other accomplices in the plot were not conspicuous since they mixed in with the crowd and remained unknown to most people. The group of conspirators sent one of those mentioned, Kampanos, to the Emperor John on the pretext of business but, in reality to obtain a common chrysobull comprising the original customs and rights belonging to Thessalonike, and providing for their individual freedom. The Emperor did everything in accordance with their aims and gave written promises of gifts to those who were to assist in the act.

When the Emperor had made secure arrangements he left the region of Melenikon and went to Thessalonike, sending ambassadors ahead to Demetrios so so that the latter might come to him and fulfil his obligations in accordance with his pledge, for he had agreed and sworn oath to this effect. But since Demetrios did not have a mind of his own and depended on scheming advisors, he was persuaded to stay at home. For they told him that the Emperor's summons was a trick against him. Being empty-headed, he agreed with their advice, no matter what it might be.

Something happened in connection with this matter which I will add to the account as a sort of seasoning. When Kampanos, whom we mentioned earlier as one of the accomplices in the plot, returned from the Emperor, some people reported that he did not have Demetrios' interests in mind. He appeared before Demetrios and was accused by those who were telling the truth about him saying that 'he is doing wrong secretly and is trying to win the people and is sending letters to the Emperor and mysterious messages are being passed.' Kampanos was under investigation. When Spartenos, a co-worker in the plot, learned about this, he arrived on the

scene quickly and, with as much breath and energy as he had said, 'Why are people denouncing this guilty person, O Lord, who, if he were apprehended, would be judged worthy of many deaths?' Demetrios had a great deal of confidence in him as a loyal servant and thought him to be very well-disposed although, not also, after the fashion of the comic poet, 'the most arrant thief'.* He replied, 'Spartenos, those who prosecute him say that he is a traitor'. Then Spartenos struck Kampanos on the jaw with a hard blow of the wrist and, grabbing hold of him by the cheek, said, 'I will force him to divulge all his secret machinations.' He said this and hurried home.

From that day on Kampanos had a couch, a high bed for his comfort, and whatever is designed to give pleasure and is enjoyed by people who have taken care to attain it. Some even said that Spartenos inflated a skin pouch with air, tied it so that all the air was sealed in and there was no leak, then hung it up and beat it with sticks as if he were torturing Kampanos to reveal his secrets. But the victim of the beating was the bag, not Kampanos. When enough time had passed to make it seem plausible that an inquiry had taken place and that unspeakable things embedded in the deepest recesses had been disclosed, Spartenos went to Demetrios as quickly as his legs could take him and said to him, 'Lord, I will affirm the matter by oath, By your Demetrios and my Demetrios, the protector and guardian of Thessalonike' (this oath carries more weight for the people of Thessalonike than any other), 'Kampanos is the same as Spartenos and is of the same disposition towards you as Spartenos whom you know loves you more than all[other]men.' Spartenos in this way neatly diverted attention from the misdeed which was still to be discovered in the future.

The Emperor John left for Thessalonike straightway with his armies and encamped nearby. But he could not besiege the city for he did not have sufficient forces. Therefore, he sent an embassy and asked that

* Aristophanes, *Ploutos*, 26-27: 'Ἄλλ' οὐ σε κρύψω. πάντων ἔμῶν γὰρ οἰκετῶν/πιστότατον ἡγοῦμαι σε καὶ κλεπτίστατον.

Demetrios come to him as he had sworn and, in addition, that he set up a market outside Thessalonike so that the army could buy provisions. But Demetrios, relying on treacherous advice, conceded to none of these requests. A few days passed. A part of the army had been stationed near the small gate named after its location by the sea, so that no one could come out of the city unexpectedly and plunder the goods of the army. Suddenly a shout came from there that someone inside had opened it. The force which was keeping watch followed the shout and the whole army equipped itself and entered with the Emperor. A moment later Thessalonike held all the Emperor's men within her walls. The Emperor stood by the east gate of the city and Eirene, Demetrios' sister, wife of the Bulgarian Emperor Asen, came to him, falling on her knees and imploring that her brother's eyes be spared. Demetrios had already climbed to the acropolis. When she had received sworn assurances from the Emperor that he would not lose his eyes, she went to her brother and brought him to the Emperor. He was barely a young man; he did not yet have the first down on his chin but he was graceful in figure and stature. The Emperor paid her [Eirene] an honour by assuming her posture of humility; for when she dismounted from her horse the Emperor also dismounted from his own steed and stood on the ground with her. This is the way the city of Thessalonike became subject to the Emperor John or rather, to the Romans; for those who ruled her were enemies of the Romans.

XLVI. The Emperor stayed in Thessalonike only a few days because the winter weather forced him [to move] on. It was the month of December. In the city he left the megas domestikos, Andronikos Komnenos Palaiologos, whom we have often mentioned. He held the highest rank among the military commanders, a most intelligent and gentle man, expert both at arming men for battle and at governing them in times of war and peace. The Emperor

returned to the east a victor, marvelled at by everyone and celebrated by his own people and foreigners alike for so great and speedy a victory. For the achievement and the accumulation of victories seemed to go beyond the natural order of things and to have been accomplished by divine providence rather than strategy. To defend Melenikon, Serres and the surrounding territory, he left behind Michael Komnenos, the mezas domestikos' eldest son who some years later enriched the Roman Empire to its own prosperity and honour. He left others elsewhere for the security of the territories and cities but above them all he placed the mezas domestikos so that they might all obey his commands and orders. Then the Emperor crossed over to the east and stayed there, keeping watch over Demetrios whom he confined in the fortress of Lentiana, having deposed him from the government of the people of Thessalonike. The mezas domestikos lived a short time, administering his office well, took ill and died, after he had taken the tonsure. Theodore Philes was sent to replace him in office.

At the time when Thessalonike and Berroia became subject to the Emperor, the lands beyond and to the west of Platamon were under the Despot Michael, including the area around Pelagonia as well as Ochrid and Prilep. Theodore Angelos, Michael's uncle and Demetrios' father, held Vodena, Staridola, Strovos and the surrounding region.

XLVII. The Emperor spent the winter in the palace at Nymphaion but left in the spring, as was his custom. Since he had a truce with everyone, he determined to attack the towns near Constantinople which were held by the Latins, I mean Tzouroulos and Bizye. For he observed too that the Latin state was very much in decline. At all events, he crossed the Hellespont, arriving at Tzouroulos first. Eudokia, sister of the Emperor's wife, was inside the town. Anselm of Cahieu had married her at the wish of her sister, the Empress Eirene, and her brother-in-law, the Emperor. However,

Anselm of Cahieu did not stay in the town, for when he learned of the Emperor's arrival he fled and left his wife Eudokia alone there, entrusting an adequate garrison to her. He thought that the Emperor would be unwilling to besiege the town on account of his sister-in-law. But the Emperor, entirely overlooking such considerations, stationed himself near the town, set up siege towers and machines for demolishing the battlements and took it in a very few days. He sent his sister-in-law off to Constantinople, giving her a horse to ride on, and he released all the infantrymen who were guarding the town. In addition, he dispatched an army to the town of Bizye, conquered it quickly and added it also to his realm.

XLVIII. About this time the town of the island of Rhodes was taken by the Genoese in the stealth of night. Its ruler, John Gabalas, master of the island after the death of his brother, the Caesar Leo Gabalas, was not present; he was with the Emperor in the region of Nicomedia, attacking the Latins of Constantinople. Therefore, the epi tou kerasmatos John Kantakouzenos who then held the office of doux of the Thrakesion, was dispatched at once by imperial order. He went into the interior of the island with a modest number of fighting men and managed to occupy the fortress called Phileremos. He fought the Genoese with all the force he had. When an adequate army was dispatched to him, he encamped near the town and besieged the Genoese within but he did them no great damage for they had ample provisions; they had found the homes of the people of Rhodes full of provisions and therefore were not lacking the necessities. They even slept with their women unless they expelled one [from the town] for being too old or plain in looks. And the town of Rhodes might have come under Roman control quickly by reason of Kantakouzenos' constant siege and well-contrived skirmishes if something else had not happened. Since the Prince of Achaia, Villehardouin, was sailing to Syria, bringing forces to the aid of the Franks who had gone there and he had heavy-armed cavalry on board, he came ashore at the island of Rhodes, made an agreement with the Genoese on

the island and left about a hundred worthy and noble cavalymen with them. This forced the Romans to lift the siege of the town and to take refuge in Phileremos. The cavalry left behind by the Prince left the Genoese foot-soldiers in the town, sallied forth and plundered the entire countryside. They thus procured the necessities for themselves and at the same time created a shortage for the Romans, as the Genoese had dromonds and other ships fit for piracy.

The Emperor John arrived at Nymphaion and prepared an adequate fleet in Smyrna, fitting out ships to transport up to three hundred horses. As their commander he appointed Theodore Kontostephanos who held the dignity of protosebastos. He gave him written instructions as to how he should prepare for battle, where and when he should draw up in battle order, and dispatched him, wishing him and those with him the best. The protosebastos Theodore put out to sea with the ships; arriving at the island of Rhodes, he did everything as the Emperor had commanded, and routed the Latins. When the Emperor's men encountered the Latins plundering outside [the town], they slaughtered them all to a man, for the epi tou kerasmatos John Kantakouzenos insisted that not one of them be spared. And so, in this way the Frankish cavalry was destroyed by imperial prudence while the Genoese infantry left behind in the town of Rhodes held it, fighting with those who were outside[the town]. However, since they did not have the strength to hold out for a long time, they capitulated. They surrendered the town to the Romans, while they themselves went to the Emperor and in accordance with the treaties which had been made with them, enjoyed [the benefits of] imperial clemency. Thus the island of Rhodes came under Roman control once again and that is the way it happened.

XLIX. The Emperor John contracted a treaty with the Despot Michael and made a marriage alliance. He arranged for Michael's son Nikephoros to

be husband to Maria, the daughter of his son, the Emperor Theodore. Michael's wife Theodora, crossed over to the east with Nikephoros, met with the Emperor who was staying in the region of Pegai and the betrothal of the children took place. Theodora returned home with her son to her husband Michael, having received the proper kind treatment from the Emperor. But the proverb, 'the crooked stick can never be straight and the Ethiopian cannot become white'^{*} proved to be true with respect to Michael also. For he rose up in revolt against the Emperor, taking the advice of his uncle Theodore Angelos as to the pretext. When the Emperor John became aware of this and learned about their conspiracy, as he considered them and them alone to be enemies of the Roman Empire after the conquest of Constantinople, he prepared for war properly and in what one might call a truly imperial way — for he had a truce from the Muslims and the Bulgarians were quiet. He drew up all the forces that were necessary, crossed the Hellespont with many other generals and with Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes, his epi tes trapezes, acting as megas domestikos. He relied on his character, considering him to be well-disposed and, as experience bore witness, a most skilful strategist.

When he arrived at Thessalonike, he marched out with his forces and encamped at Vodena. Angelos had just fled from there and gone to his nephew the Despot Michael. The Emperor stopped to besiege Vodena and in a short time won the town. Leaving from there he pitched tent in a place near lake Ostrovos and dispatched generals, Alexios Strategopoulos, Michael Palaiologos, son of the megas domestikos, John Makrenos, Goudelles Tyrannos and others, to invade the territory of the Despot Michael so that they might plunder the surrounding area and join battle with his army should they come upon it, and even capture a town, should they have the opportunity. They did this and they marched in advance of the imperial tent. The Emperor waited in the area of Ostrovos and was downcast because he had not managed to accomplish anything worthwhile. The army was also discontented for it was winter

* Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum II, edd. Leutsch, Schneidewin (1958), 2nd edn., 549, 25-26; 258, 68.

and they were running short of provisions. But the Emperor took care of the problem. He transported provisions from Berroia to the camp on mules and camels. When the Emperor had made these arrangements quite unexpectedly there came over to him a defector, Glabas from Kastoria, and immediately after him Theodore Petraliphas, the son-in-law of Demetrios Komnenos Tornikes who managed public affairs together with the Emperor John and was greatly loved and honoured by him; for he called him 'brother' in his documents. Tornikes had died some time ago. There was no administrator of public affairs, then, who was distinguished by a dignity or a title of office; the Emperor used in his service those who happened to be around and also untitled clerks, Joseph Mesopotamites and his ex-assistant Nikephoros Alyates, but for the more prestigious documents, those worthy of care, he used John Makrotos and myself.

When the said Petraliphas, brother of Michael's wife, came over to the Emperor, it put the Emperor himself and the army in a very good mood. For Kastoria and all the territory around it immediately came over to the Emperor and both small and large Deavolis became his. In addition, Goulamos from Albanon, whose wife was the Empress Eirene's niece, a daughter of her first cousin, was staying in the region of Kastoria with the army from Albanon when, enticed by blandishments and letters containing promises from the Emperor, he went over to him. The Emperor welcomed all these men and honoured them fittingly. When the Despot Michael learned this and saw that his own affairs were in difficulties, while everything was going in the Emperor's favour, he sent an embassy to the Emperor through Xeros, the Metropolitan of Naupaktos, Maliasenos, his sister's husband, and Lampetes, who conferred with the Emperor and drew up an agreement. Michael for his part ceded to the Emperor the town of Prilep, Veles and the fortress of Kroai in Albanon, while the Emperor issued oaths in writing and sent ambassadors, Phokas [the Metropolitan] of Philadelphia, the primmikerios of the court Isaac Doukas, whom they also called Mourtzouphlos, Michael Hyaleas,

and myself. We went to Michael and, finding him in Larissa, concluded the treaty [negotiations]. We returned again to the Emperor who was encamped at Vodena, bringing with us Michael's son Nikephoros (to whom the Emperor gave the honour of Despot on account of his granddaughter), but also Michael's uncle Theodore Angelos as a prisoner. So it happened and matters were thus concluded. The Emperor spent the winter at Vodena but in the spring, when he had celebrated the day of the Resurrection, he left the armies behind, somewhere in the vicinity, appointing to their command the protovestiarios, Alexios Raoul, the Emperor's son-in-law through his brother's daughter, and Michael Komnenos Palaiologos, while he went to inspect the newly acquired territories with an army of moderate size. He went to Ochrid, visited Deavolis and from there went to Kastoria. In the autumn, when he had organised the army, he headed for the east.

L. When he had passed by Thessalonike and through Bisaltia, he encamped at Philippi with good reason, or so it seemed to him. For when Nicholas Manglavites of Melenikon was in Vodena, he had informed against Michael Palaiologos (the previously mentioned son of the megas domestikos) to the Emperor. Since it was not the time for inquiry into such matters but for campaign and battle, the Emperor set the case aside until a suitable occasion. It was at that time that the Emperor came to investigate the matter. He set up a court, appointed judges and gathered a distinguished tribunal. The case was as follows. When Demetrios Tornikes died, the megas domestikos was still alive [and living] in Thessalonike; his son Michael was at Melenikon and Serres. When he learned of Tornikes' death, he was distressed and appeared long-faced to those who encountered him, for Tornikes' wife was the megas domestikos' first cousin. In any event, as is often the case in such matters, one of the inhabitants of Melenikon, . . . * by name, asked another called . . . * why Michael Komnenos looked sad. The one said -- and he did not believe the reason -- 'Demetrios Tornikes died. He was a

* The names of the men are missing from the text.

relation of his and administrator of public affairs. It was on his account that he was distressed.' The other answered, 'I do not think that he would be so troubled and grieved on account of Tornikes. But it is likely that he looked that way because of his master. And if that is so, alas for us! Our affairs, which are now smooth and calm, will again be thrown into disorder and turbulence.' Then the other replied,

But, friend, even if this is so, our affairs will not go badly. For the megas domestikos lives in Thessalonike governing it, and his son Michael Komnenos is guardian over our territory. With such great men to govern us we should never experience a cosmic cataclysm.* Besides, since Thamar, sister of Kaliman the Bulgarian ruler, is still unwed, she might enter into a marriage alliance with Michael Komnenos and there will be treaties between us and the Bulgarians.

They had this conversation unknown to Michael Komnenos.

One of the two[men] went to Manglavites and reported the conversation to him. He brought it up with the Emperor. Thereupon, both men were detained and questioned concerning their statements. The one accused, the other defended himself. He [the latter] alleged that, 'He has spoken the truth, for he did hear this from me. However, it was not by any information that I said this of Komnenos; I made up these statements myself.' He was pressed on this issue but each time he denied that Michael Komnenos knew anything at all concerning the matter, while the accuser said that Michael Komnenos was aware of these things. Since there were no witnesses, a military demonstration, a trial by battle, was prepared for them. Both armed, entered the arena, and came at each other. The accuser took the victory, while the accused was thrown from his horse and defeated. He was carried off alive, for he was not mortally wounded, and was again questioned so that he might confess the truth. But he held to his previous statement and protested that Michael Komnenos did not know anything at all [about

* For this expression, used to describe the fall of Constantinople in 1204, see J. Darrouzès, 'Les Discours d'Euthyme Tornikès (1200-1205)', REB 26 (1968), 82, 28-83, 1.

the matter]. Since it seemed that the Emperor could learn the truth by further trial, being the sort to make more minute inquiries, he applied trial by death to the man. The hands of the man who had been condemned to die were tied behind him in preparation for execution, while his eyes were covered with a linen cloth. It was the custom for the condemned to be prepared in this manner to receive the stroke of annihilation. When things were so arranged and the prisoner was ordered to bow his neck so that he could be decapitated, he was again questioned about the information which was being sought. But he confirmed with the most chilling oaths that Michael Komnenos knew nothing at all in this matter. He was released from taking the road to death, but he trod that leading to prison and was shackled and confined. The whole investigation now came to bear on Michael Komnenos.

At that point, those who had supposedly been chosen to judge him were saying to him, 'Since countless words have been spoken concerning you, you must refute them through some miraculous act.' This was the proof by red-hot iron. And he would reply (for he had the truth on his side),

If there were someone accusing me, I might fight against him and prove him to be lying; but since there is no accuser, on whose account am I being brought to trial? You want me to work wonders, but I am not a person who can work a miracle. If a heated iron should come into contact with the hand of a living being, I do not know how it would not burn it, unless somehow it were carved from stone by Pheidias or Praxiteles, or made of bronze.

*

He would reply in this way and (by Themis !), quite justly. The Metropolitan of Philadelphia, Phokas, was also present on this occasion. The Emperor liked him and showed him much favour. He was so treated not because of his virtue but because of his brazen nature. For once, when the Emperor inquired about some public matter, he spoke out frankly and said, 'O Emperor, why did you ask us just now since you always do what you yourself think you should do?' He said this and, at that time, the Emperor complained indignantly and

*Goddess of justice and assemblies: Od. 2, 68-69.

asked those who were by his side, 'How is it that the Metropolitan made such an insolent remark and you put up with it?' But a short time later he treated him kindly, honoured him and had him as his advisor in worldly matters. On that occasion also the Emperor consulted him as an assistant. He [Phokas] took Michael Komnenos aside and said this (I heard the conversation),

You are a noble man and come from noble ancestors. You must therefore reflect and do the right thing for the sake of your reputation, your good faith, and all your family. Since there is no proof from witnesses in your case, you must reveal the truth by means of the red-hot iron.

He replied, nobly and bravely and as authors might describe some fearless man in battle,

I do not know, my lord, how such a thing can be called holy, but I am a sinful man and cannot work such wonders. However, if you, being a Metropolitan and a man of God, advise me to do this, put on all your holy attire, as you are accustomed to dress when you enter the holy sanctuary to meet with God. Then, heat up the iron for me with your hands, the hands which touch the divine offering, the body of our lord Jesus Christ who sacrificed himself on behalf of the entire world and is ever sacrificed by your priests and bishops, and with your holy hands place the iron in my hand, and I have faith in the Lord Christ, that he will overlook my every sin and show the truth by a miracle.

Michael Komnenos spoke in this manner. The Metropolitan replied, 'My good young man, this is not Roman practice; neither is it ecclesiastical tradition nor is it derived from the laws or earlier divine and holy canons. The method is barbarian and unknown among us; it is executed only by imperial order.' And he said, 'O mighty bishop of God, if I had been born a barbarian and had grown up with barbarian customs or had been brought up from childhood with such laws, I might pay the full penalty in a barbarian fashion. But since I am a Roman, from Roman ancestors, let my trial be concluded in accordance with Roman law and written tradition.'

He was amazed at the young man's statement — for Michael Komnenos was completing his twenty-seventh year — and at the fact that although he was in an unfortunate situation, the nobility of his spirit did not sink nor did the shrewdness of his mind slacken. He went to the Emperor; I do not know all that he said but, at any rate, he must have said what he had heard. The Emperor had made a great trial but did not find Michael Komnenos guilty of anything and in this he had even driven the guiltless to guilt, by force of word and whip. The Latin and the Roman soldiers all gave their opinion; especially the Latins, since they are freer in speech towards their masters; Michael Komnenos was innocent according to all. I myself heard since I was present at the trial and with me was John Makrotos. We also were supposedly included by the Emperor with those who were giving judgment but, in fact, we just stood there like wooden posts. For he [the Emperor] wanted everyone to vote with him against him Michael but we said nothing since Michael Komnenos was judged without cause. For he was liked — the truth is dear — not by us alone, but by all those in office, the generals, soldiers and the members of the senate. He was pleasant and kind in association with the young, agreeable in speech and clever in business. To the old he seemed mature in thought and intelligence and he was dear to them. These things happened to him, I think, as a trial by the Almighty. Since God intended to raise him to the imperial eminence, he tried him with the fire of torments and the test of the crucible so that when he should ascend the imperial throne he would not easily believe slander and blackmail, nor less make decisions on his power to do whatever he wished. Indeed, He tried him in many other instances, as the narrative must reveal as it proceeds. At the end of the trial the Emperor spoke these words [to him] and I heard them: 'Alas, poor wretch, what glory you have fallen from'. It had been the Emperor's wish to give his granddaughter Eirene, the eldest daughter of his son, the Emperor Theodore, to Michael Komnenos as a wife. She was Michael's niece, the daughter of his second cousin. But under the Emperor John this happened in many other cases and such [marriages] became,

as it were, customary. For although they are forbidden by the church, Emperors are given dispensation for the sake of public welfare and expediency.

LI. The Emperor, having thus dismissed the case, went to the east, while Michael Komnenos, as I said, was held in suspicion. However, since his family was notable and related to the Emperor and, further, as he had genuine standing with the magnates, the Emperor could not hold him in contempt. What did he do? He sent him to the Patriarch. Manuel was then at the helm of the Patriarchate. He was a pious man of reverent character (even though he had been married to a woman) but, on the other hand, he was unlettered and could not unravel the meaning of whatever he read. The Emperor wrote to him to place Michael Komnenos under a penalty and to bind him with oaths to the effect that he would never try to meditate treachery against the Emperor and that he would maintain a sound disposition towards him. This took place and the Emperor accepted Michael Komnenos and joined him in marriage to Theodora, the granddaughter of his brother, the sebastokrator Isaac Doukas. She had been left on her own when her father John, the son of the sebastokrator, died, still a young man, leaving his wife Eudokia, daughter of John Angelos, a widow, and his daughter Theodora, an orphan. She was the lucky woman who married Michael Komnenos. For her mother Eudokia, although young, was glad to endure widowhood; she valued chastity and devoting herself entirely to God. Because of this she had her reward from God in the marriage alliance. And that is what happened.

LII. The Emperor reached the east and when the year ended, he returned again to the area of Nicaea, the capital city of Bithynia. Winter was nearly over; February was coming to an end. The Emperor was sitting on his bed one evening — part of the night had passed — when he suddenly lost his voice, fell forward on the bed, and was completely speechless from that time on. Doctors gave their assistance and made light incisions on his

legs, applying epholbion to the cuts and doing whatever else their profession instructs them to do. But the Emperor lay motionless all that night, the following day, and again the next night. For he was ill with apoplexy and it was so severe that it sustained long-term paralysis and speechlessness. However, he recovered and regained consciousness, but his colour was changed. Then he hastened to reach Nymphaion before Palm Sunday, the day on which the Emperor was accustomed to make a triumphal entry. Increasing his speed, he reached Nymphaion and there performed the Palm Sunday triumph and also celebrated the day of Resurrection. He stayed in this region from then on, worn out and exhausted by the illness which afflicted him every few days. Sometimes he would fall speechless on the bed in the palace while at other times the illness would come over him on the road as he was riding his horse. His companions held him and watched over him on those occasions so that it would not be obvious to most people. When he recovered consciousness, he would return to the palace slowly. Sometimes he was carried by his men, enthroned on a litter. But as the illness grew more severe the Emperor's body weakened. The attacks became more frequent. He lost weight and, more serious, he suffered from atrophy. Since the doctors failed, the Emperor, in a desire to find some relief, decided to go to Smyrna to worship Christ there, make supplication to Him and gain His mercy. This he did upon arrival but found no relief from his suffering. On the contrary, he felt the pain more, not less, when he was staying in the Periklystra area. This is a place somewhere near Smyrna, given this name because it is watered all around by many springs. And so he left there and arrived at Nymphaion in very bad physical condition. He did not enter the palace but took up residence in the vicinity, on the imperial estate. It was there that he died, on the third day of the Kalends of November, at the age of sixty-two, so those who were well-informed about him said. He had reigned well and nobly for thirty-three of those years. For he was a

gentle man who was always disposed to be kind. It was his practice to give more gifts to foreigners than to his own people and he was especially generous to ambassadors in order to win their praise. But he was overcome by his passion for women from the time of the death of his wife, the Empress Eirene. He had affairs openly and with many different women but especially with the Italian woman who accompanied his German wife, the Empress Anna, as a lady-in-waiting. This woman, the Marchioness as she was called, came to be the Empress' rival. He was so dependent on her love that he gave her red-coloured slippers and a saddle and bridle of the same colour, as well as more attendants than the real Empress had. This Emperor was pertinacious in war. He did not like battles fought in close combat for he feared the fickleness of Ares and took into account the uncertainty of these matters. But he won victories by exercising patience and by spending the spring, the late summer and sometimes even the winter in the land of the enemy, leaving the adversary exhausted by his stubbornness and endurance.

The Emperor John died, leaving the Empire to his son Theodore who was thirty-three years old. He was as old as his father's reign was long, for his birth more or less coincided with his father's public proclamation as Emperor. It was the hope of all Romans, especially those in the army and at court, that they would gain many good things from the new Emperor. And if there was anyone who had suffered at the hands of his father, either because he had been deprived of money or property, he had hopes of finding an end to his ills. This is what everyone hoped. For his youth, his charming manner towards all, his gentle behaviour with his companions and his cheerful discourse with those he met (all of which was a false and hypocritical mask), gave them to imagine things. But they were disappointed. The proverb, 'their treasure turned to coal'^{*}, came true. For he was so bad to his subjects and he treated those under his control in such a way that they

^{*}Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum II (1958), 145, 16-17,

all called his father the Emperor blessed. Everyone who suffered horribly at his hands desired to die before his time and prayed for life to end and to be numbered among the many.*

LIII. The Emperor Theodore thus came to the throne. When he had paid his father the usual funeral rites and had been seated on the shield, as is the custom, and acclaimed Emperor by all, he left Nymphaion and went to Philadelphia. It is a great city with a large population of inhabitants who have the wherewithall to equip themselves for battle and are especially accomplished in archery. The fact that the city is situated on the boundary with Persia gives rise to constant hostilities with the enemy and makes them [the inhabitants] accustomed to war. When he had stayed there long enough to send an embassy to the Sultan, he left for the region of Bithynia and the capital city of the area, Nicaea. Since the Church was without a Patriarch (for the Patriarch Manuel had died slightly before the Emperor John), it was first necessary to propose someone for the office of Patriarch so that the Emperor's coronation might take place in church. A person worthy of this throne was required. Many were in favour of Nikephoros Blemmydes, my teacher in philosophical theories and doctrines. He had become a monk in his youth and was famous for his learning as well as his virtue, even though the malice of some, especially of the notables, not only prevented his virtue from becoming apparent but even attributed vices to him. However, he was on friendly terms with the Emperor and was liked by him. For he had appointed him also as a teacher of letters, in which he took a great deal of pride. But Blemmydes, observing the character of the Emperor, was rather reluctant on this occasion. The Emperor, however, did not try to approach him more gently; in fact, it is probable that he did not wish him to accept the charge. For rulers want their Patriarchs to be submissive and moderate in their thinking and to succumb easily to their wishes as if they were commands. This indeed is

* οἱ πλεῖστοι, euphemistic for the dead: Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, 1073.

what happens in the case of uneducated men for they do not have the confidence of learning, while educated men appear to be unyielding and to oppose rulers' decrees. The Emperor Theodore thus gained some experience of the man in these matters and so he turned to others. But since he was displeased with many people, when he learned that there was an unordained monk called Arsenios on lake Apollonia who had little education (he had only reached the level of grammar education), he hastened to send messengers to fetch him and the man came. Since the Emperor was in a hurry to leave Nicaea, he gave orders to the clergy to elect him Patriarch quickly. They did this, making him deacon, priest and Patriarch in one day.

LIV. His reason for hurrying to leave Nicaea was this. When the Bulgarian ruler, Michael (brother of the Emperor Theodore's wife and son of the Emperor's father-in-law John Asen by marriage to Theodore Angelos' daughter) learned of the Emperor John's death and saw that the western regions were devoid of Roman troops, he decided to restore to Bulgarian rule the territory and cities taken from the Bulgarians by the Emperor John. For this had long been irksome to the Bulgarians. Finding the time opportune, it seems, he set out from the Haimos, crossed the Hebros, and soon subjected much territory and brought about the surrender of many towns without any trouble. For the inhabitants, being Bulgarians, sided with their fellow kinsmen, shaking off the yoke of those who spoke another language. Since the towns had been left only with Roman garrisons, who were incapable of putting up a fight in such circumstances, they were easy for the Bulgarians to take. Some of the Romans, disconcerted by their fear, surrendered the towns and were given freedom to return home, while others, because of the suddenness of the Bulgarian attack, did not have time to think of a way to profit and so fled, leaving the places without guards; still others may have grown weary with time, since the length of their assignments had been extended beyond the norm. Most of the

towns were uncared for and were without the necessary weapons. Therefore, Stenimachos, Peristitza, Krytzimos, Tzepaina and all the fortresses in Achridos, except for Mneiakos, were occupied immediately; the Romans kept Mneiakos alone. The Bulgarians took Oustra, Perperakion, Krybous and the town called Ephraim which is near Adrianople. When these events had transpired and Roman affairs in the west were in a state of confusion, the report reached as far as the Emperor, giving the appearance and the expectation of more danger than actually existed, so that those at court were greatly disturbed. For they knew that most of the western regions were inhabited by Bulgarians who had been rebellious of old against the Romans and had been subdued recently by the Emperor John; they had not yet become inured to the conquest and so they still nurtured hatred for the Romans.

LV. The Emperor also was distressed at this state of affairs, that he should start his reign so badly. Therefore, he gathered together his officials and generals, among whom were his uncles, Manuel and Michael, brothers of his grandfather the Emperor Theodore, and deliberated on how to deal with what had happened. Most of them said that it was necessary for the Emperor to cross the Hellespont and stem the Bulgarian offensive. The Emperor's uncles thought otherwise and the Emperor paid special attention to them for many reasons. The quality of their family and their advanced age influenced him, and their wide experience was also persuasive. For they had become exiles at the time of the Emperor John's accession and had spoken with many rulers and wandered about various places so that, in the words of poetry, 'they were acquainted with towns and had come to know ideas.'^{*} But although it is true that they were knowledgeable, they did not have the right attitude to Roman affairs, their reason being that they had been slighted, first by their brother, the Emperor, and then by his son-in-law, for neither one of them had been raised to a dignity befitting the brother of an Emperor. They had become exiles from the Roman Empire and they

* Od., l. 3: πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδε ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

felt ill-will towards it. Some might allege that this was the cause [of their actions] but in reality it was the unstable and unsteady characters of these men that made them behave so. Nor did this escape the notice of the Emperor, but he consulted them for the time being out of necessity and because he had no one better with whom to take counsel. They suggested that it was not necessary for the Emperor to cross over to the west, both because those regions were in a bad way and ailing almost incurably and because the Emperor did not have an army fit for an imperial enterprise; for winter prevented the mustering of forces. If the Emperor were to invade territory and accomplish nothing worthy of his name and fame this would not only confirm the enemy in possession of those places it had taken but would also lead to the conquest of others, to the enemy's greater benefit, and to no small detriment of the Romans. They asserted this opinion while all the others advised the Emperor to cross, and urged this, lest everything, or almost everything, in the west be lost or fall into enemy hands. The counsel of the majority prevailed, especially since it was also the Emperor's wish and as his heart was burning with zeal to take the offensive. He took all those who were with him (they made up an army of moderate size), as well as the people he met along the way and those who were near the road and able to follow with their own weapons and horses; he crossed the Hellespont and reached Adrianople as quickly as he could.

LVI. He stayed in this city only one day, marching out on the following day. One of the Bulgarian spies saw the Emperor coming from Adrianople, rushed to the Bulgarian ruler who was encamped near the Hebros and informed him of the action, reporting the Emperor's speedy advance towards the place and swearing that with his own eyes he had seen the Emperor crossing the bridge over the Hebros river near the city. This troubled the attendants of the Bulgarian ruler; however, they did not withdraw from the place where they were encamped, but waited there until they could confirm the accuracy and reliability of the report. But the camp of the Bulgarian ruler

did not escape the notice of the Emperor who learned of its location. Then he travelled more quickly and lengthened his horses' gait, hoping to encounter the Bulgarian army. Although he had this in mind, as luck would have it, something happened to foil his plan. For the leaders of the Roman army attacked the advance sentries of the Bulgarian camp and killed many of them, taking others captive, including the leader of the expeditionary force. The rest fled in darkest night to the Bulgarian army and told the whole story, asserting that the Emperor was already nearby. Then it happened that every last Bulgarian, their leader included, mounted his horse and went off into the Bulgarian interior. Their faces were cut by the thick tangle of tree branches to which they were exposed. The Bulgarian ruler himself suffered from this. Some of them even rode bareback. Escaping in this manner they avoided death by the Roman sword. When the Emperor reached the place in the morning and saw that the Bulgarian army was not there he was distressed but there was nothing he could do. When he had taken counsel he made for Beroe and upon his arrival there took the fortress without a fight for its entire wall was in ruins and had many openings — this town had been destroyed by the Bulgarians along with the other Roman towns — even though its inhabitants had resolved to fortify it with poles and planks from carts. In any case, the troops, both men and their horses, were well-off for provisions for the town had plenty of fodder. Perhaps the Emperor might have proceeded to the Haimos itself and would have attacked the fortresses there (for he had given the Bulgarians quite a scare) if a storm had not struck suddenly, hindering his movements. For there was much snow on the ground and his advisors did not think it was a good idea for the Roman army to remain on foreign, enemy territory. Then, since there was nothing else the Emperor could do, he stayed there for six days and after despoiling everything in Beroe, men, women, children, sheep, oxen and anything else that was movable, returned to Adrianople.

LVII. Having selected an adequate army he sent it to the fortresses in Achridos recently taken by the Bulgarians in the hope of bringing them, under Roman rule again. When the Roman leaders arrived there with their troops they had no trouble in taking the fortresses with machines and siege towers. For the Bulgarians quickly give up their garrisons in towns — if they see the enemy and become involved in serious hostilities. Therefore they conquered most of the fortresses in a short time. But the Emperor also assembled an army for himself, left for the towns in the Rhodope region and took Peristitza with the help of engines of war and, after that, Stenimachos and Krytzimos; all these are very strong towns which face the Rhodope mountains and guard everything behind them. He arrived at Tzepaina in mid-winter but the roughness of the terrain and the cold weather made it impossible for him to stay there even for a short time. Therefore, in the spring he sent protagmata to Alexios Strategopoulos and Constantine Tornikes (the Emperor John had given him the honour of megas primmikerios) who were in Serres and had an army encamped there, ordering them to gather together the entire army and go to Tzepaina. They did this but they proved bad generals in the undertaking. For although they neither encountered the enemy or even men capable of fighting them, they fled in a disorderly fashion at mere sounds and noises and echoes of horns, leaving behind all their baggage and most of their horses to the Bulgarian shepherds and swineherds. And so they returned to Serres as fugitives, without horses or arms. The Emperor was beside himself with anger at this and, in a fit of rage, ordered those same men to return to the same battle just as they were. But they were unable to do this.

LVIII. After this incident, something else even more serious occurred which threatened to cause the Romans a great deal of damage. The man who was the leader of the Melenikon army, Dragotas by name, as a Bulgarian had a natural dislike for Romans but the hatred he felt for the Emperor went beyond this. He had hoped for great things from him for he did not consider what he had received from the Emperor John to be sufficient (although it was

a great deal) and so he plotted open rebellion. He gathered all the soldiers and other men in Melenikon and a great many besides from the surrounding area, stationed himself by the town and besieged it with the ambition of plundering it. Theodore Nestongos and John Angelos were at the head of the garrison in the town. Both men were capable of guarding a town and turning the enemy away. But the besieged were anxious about only one thing — for they were well-stocked with provisions — the shortage of water, the thing which is most necessary and most in demand in the summer. However they were not completely without water and they fought and withstood the enemy with endurance, shooting arrows, inflicting injuries with stones and fighting with all kinds of weapons.

When the Emperor heard about this he took the news badly but after he had settled on the best plan, he raised the entire encampment as quickly as he could and reached Serres in twelve days, having made a long journey in a short time and procured a sizeable army of men who were accustomed to fight in close combat and were fully armed and equipped with carrier horses as well as all other baggage. When he got as far as Serres he spent the night there, drawing up the army at once in the morning and ordering the infantry and archers to take the lead since he had learned that the rough terrain of Roupel, along which the Strymon river flows, would be guarded by a Bulgarian army consisting of few horsemen but many foot soldiers. It [the river] is hemmed in by two mountains so that a wagon can barely get through and the river makes the passageway even narrower. Such places are popularly called 'defiles'. The Bulgarians constructed gates in these defiles, secured by levers and bars so that they were impregnable both because of the difficult nature of the terrain and because of the measures they had taken, and the other fortifications. When the Emperor learned that this was the case he went to the area with haste and found the situation there just as he had expected. He therefore detached an infantry contingent of reasonable size from the troops, ordering it to march on the mountain above the Bulgarians so as to

strike those in a lower place from high above. They carried out the order quickly for the mountain was overgrown with trees but was passable to the infantrymen. He ordered the cavalry to join battle directly in front of the gates.

When the Bulgarians saw them shooting arrows from the mountains above and in control of a close battle directly in front of them, they realised that they were in great difficulties and fled; the Emperor's men followed them. Many men were slaughtered there; others escaped to the Bulgarian army and brought them the news of the Emperor's actions and all they had suffered. They were thrown into confusion by the sudden report and since the terrible news hit them unexpectedly, each man found a horse wherever he could and took to flight, although barely mounted. As the night of their flight was moonless, the terrain irregular, and the road difficult to see, some men fell from their horses and others trampled on them and killed them; others again were flung from their saddles over precipices. Others came to various other kinds of unhappy end so that few of them lived to reach Bulgarian territory. It was on that occasion that their leader Dragotas, also their leader in treachery, was crushed under the feet of horses, breathing his last three days later. The Emperor reached the town that night and spoke with its guards. They welcomed the Emperor, fêting him with applause and acclamations and naming him 'swift eagle'.

LIX. When the Emperor had settled affairs there justly, exiling from the town the wives and children of the men who had been faithless and ordering the confiscation of all their property, he left Melenikon and went to Thessalonike, then crossed the Vardar, passed by Vodena and encamped in the area for a short while. He was ill with dysentery; there was an epidemic among the troops. He therefore stayed there long enough to recover from the illness and then set out for Prilep. When he had prepared suitably, he went to Veles to besiege it and deliver it from the enemy's hands, taking engines

of war with him and transporting siege towers on wagons. But the enemy, thunder-struck at the mere approach of the Emperor, did not wait for the siege engines to be set up but made an agreement so as not to suffer any harm, that they would come out of the town with their weapons and belongings. When they had received sworn assurances from the Emperor, they came out of the fortress. But since the Emperor saw that there were many of them — they were five hundred in number — tall and good-looking, he had regrets about what he had done, lest he allow so many men of such quality go over to the enemy and become adversaries to the Romans. So he placed them under oath and then gave them their freedom.

Then, he set off from there with the entire army, marching through Neustapolis. The place is without water or habitation and is difficult of passage for a large number of troops. The army went without bread for many days and most of the horses had no water for two days. Then we passed by the town of Stroummitta, marched through the outskirts of Melenikon and went to Serres again. There the Emperor received letters from the east, sent to him by his beloved Mouzalon, saying that Muslim affairs were in a state of agitation because of the Tatars. And so he hurried on the road and made longer day marches. But when he reached the Hebros, which the common people call the Maritza, and learned that affairs in the east were not as he had expected, he slowed down and marched in a more leisurely fashion, making the usual imperial halts. Deviating from the direct road to the east, he went to Didymoteichon and from there to Adrianople.

None of the fortresses and towns occupied by the Bulgarians was left [unconquered], for the Emperor had taken all of them except for two. One of these was a very small fortress called Patmos which lies in the Achridos mountains. Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos who had been left by the Emperor to guard [the fortresses] in Achridos, took it very easily. The other town, called Tzepaina, is very strong and is situated at the junction of two large mountains, the Haimos and the Rhodope, between which the Hebros river flows. The Emperor was annoyed that he had not

conquered these fortresses as he had the others; besides, they appeared to be stronger than him because they were still outside his control. He was especially distressed over Tzepaina. Therefore, he was in a hurry to advance against the town and make an attempt on it with all the might he had. Summer had already passed and autumn too was nearly over but he did not pay any attention to the weather nor did he make provisions for the bitter winter for he was thinking about fulfilling the wish of only one person, himself. He mobilised the entire army from Adrianople and gave orders for numerous wagons to be collected from all parts of Macedonia, some for the transport of engines and siege towers, others for the conveyance of army provisions, and he ordered the mustering of an almost innumerable host of foot-soldiers, archers and club-bearers. When he had prepared everything well and to his liking, he left Adrianople for Tzepaina. The army had passed four halts when a severe storm struck them at a place called Makrolivada. (Those who first saw it gave it a name true to its shape.) The storm began in the evening and the cold and the wind became more intense during the night and covered the surface of the earth with a great deal of snow. It caused the Emperor a lot of trouble in the morning for the place was uninhabited, the enemy was nearby and, not least of all, the expectation of a scarcity of provisions distressed his spirit. This [the latter] was indeed the most serious [problem] for the troops. He was so worried that he assembled the generals of the troops, not only those of the Romans but also those of the Latin and Scythian races, and asked them what should be done. Nearly all of them advised a return to Adrianople. The Emperor did not reject their counsel but said to them, 'You have given good advice, saying what you considered best and most expedient. If I, with the help of God, should have something else in mind, would you not accept this as a statement from a sensible master and one who looks after you as he should?' They all replied, 'Whatever your Majesty thinks fit will be agreeable and welcome to us.' Then the Emperor let them all go to their tents so that they could eat [to fortify

themselves against the cold weather, while he went to his own quarters and consulted his companions about what should be done. Some wished to put into practice what the men outside had advised; others, who decided that what the Emperor had in mind was better, gave the opposite advice. They said,

The road back to Adrianople is as long as the one which lies before us to the town of Stenimachos and we have enough provisions to last us as far as either Adrianople or Stenimachos. If we should act in this manner it would not appear to the enemy that we are retreating either out of fear for them or because of the harshness of winter.

This seemed acceptable to the Emperor and since the bitterness of the storm was abating and the snow had stopped falling, he ordered the reveille to be sounded on the following day. Then he left for Stenimachos, taking the regiments of troops with him. There he ordered the entire army to stock up with provisions, and left immediately for Tzepaina.

He arrived at a town called Vatkounion which has the means to provision a large army for a considerable number of days. From there he dispatched his uncle Manuel Laskaris who was a monk with the name Maximos, and the archon of his company, Constantine Margarites, to reconnoitre the region and see whether the road in that area would be suitable for the army's march. They went and scouted out the surrounding region, reporting back to the Emperor that the ascent was easy. Constantine Margarites especially insisted on this, although many of those who knew [the terrain] disagreed. But since the Emperor trusted their report, he marched up with the entire army. The ascent was steep on all sides and the thick, smooth ice made the entire road difficult to walk on, while the mountain ridge was thickly overgrown with trees. The army kept warm all that night long by lighting fires. Most of the servants, who had the tents with them, could not find their masters. They shed tears almost incessantly, although

they were not tears of sorrow. For the smoke from the fire, trapped by the density of the trees and with no means of escape into the open air, sank below, stinging eyes and causing them to water. The Emperor also suffered from this. When night had passed and the morning came, discovering that the town could not be taken by siege, the Emperor ordered the army to descend into the plain. Some men left but he remained to guard the rear with a moderate number of soldiers, these being the younger men among his attendants. He followed behind on foot, like the rest, for it was impossible to descend the mountain on horseback.

LX. When he had stayed there for two days and plundered the village of Vatkounion, he returned to Adrianople and Didymoteichon. There he appointed as commanders Manuel Laskaris whom he named protosebastos — an utter simpleton and a bad commander — and Constantine Margarites, whom the narrative previously introduced, a peasant born of peasants, reared on barley and bran and barely able to grunt. He was from Neokastra and first served in the army of that theme, later becoming tzaousios. Since he presented to the Emperor John the appearance of being an energetic man, capable of serving in the palace, he took him from the army and made him tzaousios of his own company and then added 'megas' to his title. The Emperor Theodore made him archon of his company (no one before him had ever held such a title) and he signed 'megas' next to his name as well. The Emperor left these men as well as many other commanders to guard the territory. He left an adequate army with them, ordering them not to pitch battle with the enemy even if they should attack with the Scythians as allies (for this is what the rumour was) and if the enemy should set out plundering the land, they should not move since they had protection from Didymoteichon (the town was strong) and the Hebros river, for he ordered them to encamp between the two. But if a small army should infiltrate the territory, then they should attack it boldly.

When the Emperor had arranged everything in this manner, he crossed the Hellespont and encamped at Lampsakos, where he rewarded his men with offices and dignities. He honoured the one he loved above all others, George Mouzalon, the megas domestikos, with the dignities of protosebastos, protovestiarios and megas strotopedarches. To his brother Andronikos who was protovestiarites, he gave the title of megas domestikos. John Angelos, the megas prammikerios, he honoured as protostrator. They were all pitiful men, worth no more than three obols, brought up in childish pastimes and songs and tunes of cymbals. The Homeric phrase, 'excellent liars and dancers'* fits them perfectly. He made Karyanites protovestiarites. I myself got involved in these childish games, albeit unwillingly (by Themis!), and under compulsion, as I should not have been, and I appeared among the players as an unfortunate plaything. For the Emperor changed my name too and did not allow 'Akropolites' to be pronounced without an addition. So these things came to pass. But the narrative deviated and spoke of these men in order to clarify later events. At any rate, it was for this reason that the Emperor stayed in Lampsakos a short time, and after celebrating Christmas and the Feast of Lights, arrived at Nymphaion a few days later.

LXI. He spent the winter there but in the spring he mustered a large army, ordering not only the enlisted men to accompany him but even those who had never been enrolled in the ranks of the army. For he immediately drew up into military units all those who served in the imperial game preserve and in the hunting of game, deer and swine, as well as those who hunt with falcons. The assembled group was large and the Emperor's policy compelled most of the men to bring more than the usual amount of baggage

* Il, 24. 261: ψεύσται τ' ὄρχησται τε, χοροειτυκίησιν ἄριστοι.

with them. In this way, then, he collected an entire army. When he had sent an embassy and learned that the Persian ruler was not troubled by the Tatars, he immediately left the east for the west. For he thought that the Persian ruler had his affairs in order and was secure and so he he had no fears at all about his own power in the east. Having assembled an army which was larger than any of those his father the Emperor had collected to cross the Hellespont, he arrived at Lampsakos, hoping to find the men he had left behind at Didymoteichon safe and sound, in keeping with his orders to them, and to make a considerable addition to the army accompanying him. But bad judgment and disobedience of the Emperor's orders caused their downfall.

For when the ruler of the Bulgarians learned that the Emperor was far away, he summoned a Scythian army to ally with him and sent them in an offensive against the Macedonian territories, both for the sake of material profit and to frighten the Romans. They numbered about four thousand, by the estimate of those Scythians who knew; some gave a larger figure, others a smaller one. The Scythians passed by Adrianople, and plundered the region near the Rhagina river as well as the villages around Didymoteichon. The aforementioned generals of the army which had been left behind at Didymoteichon, neglecting the Emperor's orders, armed themselves and attacked the Scythians. As is their custom, the Romans wore cumbersome armour, while the Scythians are lightly armed and use the bow. Therefore they hit the Romans with arrows from a distance and wounded their horses, easily dismounting the riders and finally putting them to flight. Since Manuel Laskaris had a very swift horse which he called Goldenfoot, he fled to Adrianople but Constantine Margarites was captured, as were many of the other appointed leaders of the army, whom the Scythians sold for ransom to the Bulgarians. When the Emperor heard this he was disheartened and hurried to reach the area around Boulgarophygon, increasing his speed and making faster progress. Since his informers told him that the Scythian army was nearby, he moved the entire army to the place where

they reported the enemy's movements. But, although he travelled more than four hundred stades in one day, he did not encounter them. For when they learned of the Emperor's swift advance, they ran as quickly as their legs could take them and many of them, the most distinguished members of the race, met their death in the region of Bizye. Having failed in this enterprise, the Emperor encamped at the Rhegina river and there assembled the entire army, which was very large.

LXII. Since the Bulgarian ruler had not been at all successful against the Romans (for the Emperor had come to the west with many troops and had come close to his territory), he turned to negotiation and arranged for his father-in-law, the Russian Ur, son-in-law of the King of Hungary, to mediate in a peace settlement. First he sent ambassadors to the Emperor, paving the way for the Ur's arrival so that there would be no disturbance and he would be given an honourable reception by the Emperor. This was done and the Ur went to the Emperor. He and those accompanying him were welcomed by the Emperor with the appropriate display of generosity and he concluded the peace treaty, swearing an oath binding himself as well as his son-in-law, the Bulgarian ruler, that the town of Tzepaina would be ceded to the Emperor (for this was the only one of the places which the Emperor John had conquered and which was [still] held by the Bulgarians); the Emperor would be at peace with the Bulgarians and each party would limit itself to its former boundaries. When everything had been arranged in accordance with the Emperor's judgment, the Ur took his leave and departed with imperial gifts. These were various things, horses, woven materials and other things, altogether twenty thousand in number. The Emperor stayed on in the region of Rhegina, waiting for the cession of Tzepaina.

LXIII. While this was going on an extraordinary thing happened which is worth remembering and relating. It was the renowned feast day on which we pious men celebrate the Transfiguration of Christ and since the Emperor had to be present at the holy liturgy as was customary, the midday meal was late. We also ate lunch and after a short rest, got up. The sun was already on the western horizon. It was the Emperor's habit to ride out around twilight, pass through the entire camp and survey the whole army — which he used to call a city in motion which guards all the other Roman cities — from a level place at the end [of the camp] which was somewhat elevated from the plain. He would do this invariably; even if the sun were about to set he would not hesitate to do it. The camp was about forty stades in length, if not more. I had bad luck on that occasion. I, friend of the Emperor and foolish man that I was, learned that the Emperor was on horseback and so I got on my mule as quickly as I could and followed him at full speed, paying no attention to the late hour, as I should have done. Since the Emperor was riding a horse, he moved faster but when he saw that I was behind and not able to keep up with him, and assuming that if I fell behind too much I would not continue to follow, he said to me, 'Do not get left behind completely but do take your time.'

At any rate, he went to his usual place. His select men stood with him and I joined them, coming after, and we all stood round in a circle. The Emperor said, 'Have you learned what was recently reported to me?' And we replied, 'No, O Emperor,' The Emperor said,

A man who arrived a short time ago reported something unwelcome, that is, that the Russian Ur has deceived us for he came here to profit, faking the mediation of peace and swearing a false oath. He was an imposter in everything he did and they say that he even has a convenient excuse for dissolving the oaths, in that the ruler of the Bulgarians, his son-in-law, does not accept the terms of the peace. What do you think? Is this true or a statement concocted by a liar?

We replied, 'The report does not seem to be at all true. It is false and unreliable because the Russian Ur swore the oath not only for himself but also on behalf of his son-in-law the Bulgarian ruler. How could a man who is a Christian be guilty of such perjury?' The Emperor replied, 'Perhaps desire for money tempted him to do such a reprehensible thing and not only have we not secured the good-will of the Bulgarians but, in addition, we have spent so much money for nothing.' We said, 'This has not in any way been proven true, O Emperor.' The Emperor said to me specifically, 'What do you say about this?' I replied, 'In this matter I am inclined to agree with the others; I think that the report contains more falsehood than truth. Even if the Ur planned to invalidate the oaths, as sometimes happens, thinking to deceive us, he will make an enemy of God whom we have on our side as the champion of truth and justice.' I said this and the Emperor agreed with what was said and we started to return to our tents. It was already night but since the moon was full it gave us light.

As the Emperor was going he again asked, 'What do you think about what was said?' We replied, 'O Emperor, it is a lie.' But he inquired not once or twice or even three times but many times since he was timorous in such circumstances. After we had given a response to each question we were silent. But he asked again. Since he saw that the others did not speak, he directed the question to me. 'What do you have to say?', he asked, adding my title of office, 'for this subject is appropriate to you as it is especially your responsibility.' He said this looking for an excuse to get angry with me. I replied,

Why is it my responsibility? If I had not drawn up the documents well or administered the oaths properly, or had not given him and his companions the appropriate treatment, then this would have been my fault and a great failure. But if these duties were carried out suitably and just as they ought to have been, why should I be blamed for what he did to upset what was done?

But the Emperor again asked (I know not for what reason), 'What do you say about this?' And I replied, 'I have told you many times, O Emperor, that the statement seems to be more false than true. Besides, I do not think that it is an easy thing to give an accurate opinion about something which is uncertain.' He replied, 'It is a gift to be able to give a secure and precise opinion on uncertain matters. Even asses can talk about the obvious.' And I said, 'Behold, I have been classed with the asses!' The Emperor, beside himself with anger, replied, 'You always were a moron and still are one.' I said nothing more than to reply to his statement, 'Since I am a moron I must keep silent and let the wise speak.'

I said this and the Emperor, overcome by anger and madness, as if in a Bacchic frenzy, moved to draw his sword from its sheath, taking hold of it by the hilt. But he held onto it. He took it out for a short time and put it back. He ordered his megas domestikos, Andronikos Mouzalon, to dismount me. The latter wanted to obey the order but was unable for he had a thin, weak body. He said softly, 'Get off your saddle'. I dismounted the mule. The good Emperor said in a loud voice more than once, in the midst of a large crowd, speaking about me, I who had suffered much at the hands of his father for his sake, 'This man is responsible for many good things which I possess' (he was speaking of his instruction in logic) 'and I am indebted to him for a great deal.' Calling attention to my name in the presence of many people, he pronounced it sweetly, '[Akropolites], both in name and in fact', and ordered two club-bearers to beat me. He had appointed them the day before, all twenty-four of them, perhaps even on my account, so that the scene of the drama might have the appearance of a tragedy. They beat me; I took the blows in silence. He was angered all the more because I was not completely bent and cowed to the point of supplication. When I had been beaten all over my body, I said with difficulty, in a weak and calm voice, 'O Christ, Emperor, I have been ill so many times, why did I not die on one of those occasions? Why have you spared me for

such times?' I spoke these words and the Emperor, as if ashamed, recovered and said to one of his attendants, 'Take him away' and he the attendant put me on a horse and asked where he should take me. I replied, 'I will go wherever he [the Emperor] wishes.' But he forced the issue by repeating the question again. So then I replied, 'I must go to the Bardariots. I think this is in your interest too.' And so it happened that we went to the quarters of the Bardariots. When their primmikerios saw me he wondered out loud why I had come to his tent. I said, 'I have come for a little rest.' I stayed there with them for a short time. By then the primmikerios had learned about my affair. The Emperor did not wait long before sending word that I should return to my tent. He ordered a military detachment to surround my tent and keep watch over me because he feared that, overcome by grief, I might take refuge in flight.

I passed the time in my own tent quietly, neither going to the imperial quarters nor speaking with any of my friends and acquaintances but relying on books and reading, and taking a meal from time to time. I spent several days in this manner and the Emperor was irritated to see that I was hard-set in my resolve. All of August passed. Many bishops came to me, I believe at the command of the Emperor, even if they themselves wished to forget this, saying that they had come to me of their own volition, prompted by friendship and their good disposition. They talked a great deal, saying that I should abandon my obduracy and be reconciled with the Emperor and again assume the yoke of servitude. But I did not find them at all convincing. I said, 'Whether the Emperor were to do the best thing possible for me, such as no other Emperor has ever done for any of the men who have served him, or were he to do the worst things possible to me, things that no one famous for his evil deeds has ever done, neither one way nor the other would I serve the Emperor.' This was my hard and fast resolve and intention.

It was the month of September. The Despot Michael's wife, Theodora, came to the Emperor with her son Nikephoros, in order to complete the marriage ties with the Emperor which his father, the Emperor John, had agreed to some years back. The Emperor was hurrying to reach Thessalonike where he intended to hold the wedding. And so he left the region where he was and started on the road to Thessalonike. He came to a settlement with the Despot's wife along the way. Theodora, the Despot's wife, agreed unwillingly to the Emperor's terms for she was in his hands, almost as if in a prison, and could not do otherwise. Thus she agreed to give the Emperor the fortress of Servia, and Dyrrachion besides. Written texts of the oaths were issued and sent to the Despot Michael and he, to put it in poetic words, agreed to the terms sworn willy-nilly*, for he wanted his wife and son to be freed and by his side.

In the midst of these deliberations the Emperor took me in hand as well, forcing me to abandon my firm resolve. For he sent his great uncle Manuel Laskaris and his protovestiarios George Mouzalon and, using simple and gentle words, he won me over and his ambassadors took me to him. When I was in the Emperor's presence, I inclined my head as was my custom and then stood off. The Emperor said, 'Do you not know where you are accustomed to stand? You know the place, go to it.' I yielded to the Emperor's command and stood by his side as was my custom. Then the Emperor informed me about the Despot Michael telling me the story from the beginning. This happened in the region of Langada, a place near Thessalonike.

LXIV. When the Emperor arrived in Thessalonike, he celebrated the wedding of his daughter Maria and the son of the Despot Michael, Nikephoros, whom he also made Despot.

* Il. 4. 43: ἔχων ἀέχοντί γε θυμῷ.

While the Emperor was engaged in these affairs, he received a letter from certain men in the region of Bithynia who had been appointed to guard the area, saying that Michael Komnenos Palaiologos had fled and gone to the land of the Muslims. As the narrative recently mentioned, he [Michael] had been given the honour of megas konostablos by the Emperor John and had been entrusted with the command of the entire area. The Emperor was more than a little disturbed by this. He summoned me and said, 'Do you know what has happened?' 'No, O Emperor,' I replied, 'What has just happened?'

'The megas konostablos has fled and gone to the Muslims. What do you suppose this signifies? He will not attack our territory with a Muslim army, will he?'

'I do not think he would do such a thing, O Emperor. I have observed his disposition and believe him to be a friend of the Romans.'

'Then why did he flee from our territory?'

'Because, as you know, O Emperor, you were threatening him with the most dreadful things, not once or twice but many times, and you were furious with him and you said, in front of many people, that you would send him away and put out his eyes. He learned this, hearing all the things that were being said. His heart was stung and he feared punishment and hastened to avoid it.'

'But why did he not stay in our lands even if he were to suffer these atrocities, preferring misfortune among his own people to success in a foreign land?'

'O Emperor, that is not human nature. Some men, being of a hard disposition and indifferent, so to speak, to the facts of life, might appear to be able to put up with terrible things and to embrace misfortune but it does not seem likely that anyone who feared for his life and expected the mutilation of his vital parts would stay around; on the contrary, he would run for his life as fast as he could to escape danger.'

When I had spoken I fell silent. After a short time the Emperor said, 'What do you think he will do?' I replied,

I suppose that when he has stayed with the Persian ruler for a short time he will send to you, using the Persian ruler as a go-between in the business, asking to be thought worthy of your Majesty's compassion. He will request an oath from you in confirmation of your sincerity. I do not think he will come back to you without it.

The Emperor was troubled, being unresolved in his mind. But a few days later, the generals in Bithynia and Mesothynia forwarded to the Emperor letters which had been sent to each one of them by the megas konostablos. They can be summarised as follows; 'I fled because I was afraid of the Emperor and I was apprehensive that something bad might happen to me. Be brave and prudent in carrying out your military duties; keep the garrisons of the forts and towns secure and let the care and preservation of the whole territory be maintained as usual. Carry on as you would with me there.' The signature was that of the megas konostablos. When the Emperor saw these letters he was more cheerful about the matter and trusted what I had said.

LXV. Since we have reached this point in the narrative, we shall widen the scope of the account, as is necessary, for what happened while Michael Komnenos was in exile is worthy of much discussion. When he reached the dwellings of the Turkomans — this is a people which lives on the extremities of the Persian borders and nurtures an implacable hatred against the Romans, taking pleasure in robbing them and in taking booty from battles, and this especially at the time when Persian affairs were in a state of disorder and were disturbed by the Tatar attacks — some Turkomans chanced upon him, as if he were a wind-fall, and casting an avaricious eye on his property, snatched everything, gold, silver, horses, woven materials and the very clothes which his followers wore. They even divided up all his

attendants, each taking his prisoner into his own service. Michael Komnenos barely escaped from their hands with his life and with the help of divine providence reached the ruler of the Persians, completely despoiled. The latter greeted him not as a new-comer, a fugitive and refugee, but very warmly, like a relation. For he had learned of the man's nobility and all the magnates who were with the Persian ruler were struck by his appearance and his spirit and, as one of the ancients says, they judged him worthy of monarchy.* From a short exchange of words with him they realised that the man had a solid worth for they saw evidence of military skill, faultlessness in war and experience in everything to do with battles. The Sultan wrote letters (although in vain) for the return of his [Michael's] looted possessions, and his servants, who had been allotted as slaves, that everything and everyone might be collected and returned to him.

Since the outcome of the battle hung in the balance for them (the Tatars were encamped at Axara and were plundering most of the Muslims' land), it was absolutely necessary for the Persians to stand up to the Tatars in battle and so they appointed Michael Komnenos commander of the Christian forces. He was in a foreign land and although he considered alliance with the Muslims a thing to be avoided, and he used to say that the pious blood of a man who fell in battle should never be mixed with unholy infidel blood, he was given courage by divine grace and went to battle with a brave disposition. The regiment of the army which was assigned to Michael Komnenos won a crushing victory over the opposing Tatars, after Michael himself had struck the enemy leader in the chest with a spear. According to those who know, the man died from the wound shortly thereafter. The Tatars, defeated by the section [of the army] which Komnenos commanded, were already on the run, but a certain man who was renowned among the

*Reference not clear, perhaps Sophocles, Antigone, 1169: ζῆ τῶπαννον σὺν ἔχων.

Persians, an emirachoures — this is an important dignity among the Persians — was disloyal to his race and dealt it a great blow by joining the Tatars, taking with him the entire army which he had in his control. Thenceforth everything was reversed, for those who had shortly before been the pursuers now became the pursued and turned their backs to the attacks of the enemy. Many Persians fell, struck by Tatar arrows. The victors made pursuit over a long distance. Michael Komnenos, as it happened, joined the commander-in-chief of the Persian army on the road — the Persians call him a peklarpakis — and they marched for many days with the enemy at their tail and with sporadic fighting. Since the home of the peklarpakis was at Kastamon, they pressed on and arrived there. The Tatar race overran all the territory occupied by the Muslims. But let the narrative concerning this matter rest here while it picks up on earlier events so that the account can proceed in sequence.

LXVI. When the Emperor Theodore learned what had happened in the lands of the Muslims, he was not so much concerned for them as he was for his own lands for he suspected that Roman territory was in great danger and he hurried to return to the east. He started on the road to the east with the entire Roman army accompanying him. In Thessalonike and the western regions he left his great uncle Michael Laskaris, supposedly to protect the land, giving him a small, manageable army of Paphlagonians and three hundred Scythians. In charge of Prilep and the troops around it, he left Xyleas (by Themis, he was well-named) who had the title of skouterios. Theodore Kalampakes, the tatas of the court, he left at Veles and the surrounding area. Constantine Chabaron was put in command of Albanon while he appointed me praitor, leaving me in charge of them all. I think he did this so that in my long absence from him I might forget what I had suffered. For on no occasion after the beating did he see me act freely or speak to him cheerfully as I had done in former times.

He did this then so that my hurt feelings would be healed with the passing of time but, perhaps too, because he was unable to put up with my company. For I often came into friction with him because I knew that he was not disposed to act reasonably or justly.

LXVII. The Emperor then left for the east while I was left behind in the west. Departing from Thessalonike, I made for Berroia, for the Pope's emissaries were there whom I was supposed to dismiss, on the Emperor's order. I stayed there a short time in order to accomplish the dismissal of the emissaries and a few other matters, then left and started on the road to Albanon. I passed through Servia and by Kastoria, and having given orders concerning Ochrid, arrived at Albanon. From there, accompanied by some of the leading men of the region, I arrived at Dyrrachion. I stayed for eight days and left, organising and arranging everything on the way as I saw fit, at those places and at Dyrrachion. Then I set out from Dyrrachion, passed through the region of Chounavia and crossed the mountain called Kake Petra, went to the area around Mati and from there made for Dibra. I met with many people along the way, those in charge of the towns, the local armies, as well as those who managed fiscal matters. Going through Kytzabis, I arrived at Prilep. I made this journey from Thessalonike to Prilep in three winter months; it was December when I left Berroia and at the end of February I was at Prilep.

LXVIII. When I arrived there I heard a terrible report. The story was that Constantine Chabaron, to whom the Emperor had given the governorship of Albanon, had been won over to the side of the Despot Michael by the machinations of his wife's sister, Maria. She was a widow at the time but had been married to one Sphrantzes. She pursued Chabaron with wiles and baited him with love letters (he was silly in such matters even

though otherwise a good soldier) and she trapped him in her snares. From that point on Michael embarked on a course of open rebellion. I learned of the business while I was at Prilep. With all haste, then, I dispatched a letter to Michael Laskaris, telling him what had happened and writing him to go to Pelagonia so that we could get together there and decide what should be done about the problems at hand. We met in Pelagonia; the skouterios Xyleas was with us as well. For we assumed that he was a military man, if not also a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Theodore thought a great deal of him too because he boasted of military experience and claimed to be utterly committed to him and the Roman Empire.

When we met we decided on the following. Michael Laskaris would take his entire field army, both Roman and Scythian contingents, leave the area around Berroia (he was encamped there) and set out for Pelagonia. Likewise, the skouterios Xyleas was to take his entire military corps (which was quite large) and to join up with Michael Laskaris; together they would take up a position in the region of Pelagonia. The place was a convenient one for battle with the Despot Michael and the Serbs, as we learned that they also had made an agreement with Michael. And so I left those under my charge to act on our decisions, while I went to Ochrid with my attendant retinue to see if I might somehow be able to straighten out Albanian affairs. But before that I managed to dispatch Isaac Nestongos, the epi tes basilikes trapezes, to Albanon, giving him an assignment which included, as was customary, assuming the duties of a governor. I had been assigned to do such things and it was my license to dismiss and appoint [local] administrators and tax collectors, commanders of armies and governors of territories, as I wished. I chose to go to Albanon in order to straighten out the situation in the area and to learn what the epi tes basilikes trapezes had done. I left, taking the epi tes trapezes from Albanon as quickly as I could. For the

Albanian people had just put the final touches on the revolt, they had all gone over to the apostate, the Despot Michael. As I saw that everything was in a state of confusion I left Dibra for I had stayed there longer than I needed. I was encircled by the enemy. I arrived at Ochrid with a moderate number of armed men who assisted me. I left the epi tes trapezes there to guard the fortress, passed through Prespa and the place called Siderokastron and put in at Prilep. It was as if I had sailed into a harbour protected from the waves.

There were obstacles there for me and our men. The rebel Michael had got hold of all the surrounding territories and fortresses with the exception of one, Prilep, but he was pressing on with all the force he had to take Prilep as well. In this way he would be able to govern the surrounding area securely. Not much time elapsed before the renegade Michael made his first attack on us with his entire army. He attempted to take the town by military means but it was secure and not easily taken. He was rather relying on the plotting of the inhabitants. But on that occasion he was beaten off and he took his army and turned back, wandering about the surrounding regions. We were shut up in the town of Prilep and confined as if in a prison. And this is how our affairs went. Now let the narrative deal with events in the east.

LXIX. When the Emperor had crossed the Hellespont, he proceeded to Lydia as quickly as he could and encamped at Sardis. The Persian Sultan, having the heart of 'a shy deer', as the poet might have said,^{*} left his country and fled to the Emperor, since his army had dispersed. He welcomed and honoured him, as well as those accompanying him, with generous gifts and had them return to their own country, giving them a modest army, for it numbered only four hundred[ren]. He appointed Isaac Doukas (whom they called

* Homer, Il., 13. 102: φυλακινῆς ἐλάφοισιν ἐόχεσαν.

Mourtzouphlos) leader of the army. Those who are in the habit of playing with names had given this one to his family. He was then primmikerios of the imperial court. The Persian ruler wanted to give the Emperor something in return and so he made a gift of Laodikeia and a Roman garrison occupied it. But they stayed only a short time before this town became subject to the Muslims again, for it was not possible for the Romans to hold it. Since the Sultan was unable to withstand the Tatars, he deliberated with his distinguished men and came to an agreement with the Tatars. The Muslims became subject to tribute and have been paying it to the Tatars ever since that time.

When Michael Komnenos Palaiologos (whom we have often mentioned) received an oath of assurance from the Emperor, he returned to him and was again restored to the Emperor's retinue and to the enjoyment of his own property.

LXX. It was not long before the Emperor realised that affairs in the west were in a state of great disorder and that most of the territory had been taken by the rebel Michael. As it was necessary for a general to be sent with an army in counter-attack, he chose Michael Komnenos, giving him an army from Macedonia which was very small in size and worthless in quality. But he could not object to the orders he had been given and so, with that paltry and unwarlike army he went to Thessalonike and from there, after crossing the Vardar, which the ancients call the Naxos, joined Michael Laskaris. When they had deliberated, they proceeded against Berroia, not to attack it, for they did not have the means to do such a thing, but to plunder the surrounding area. And they plundered a great deal, for their men carried off a lot of animals whose number was difficult to estimate.

While they were engaged in this business, the ruler of the Serbs, learning of the rebellion of the renegade Michael, assembled an army numbering in the thousands and sent it against Roman lands. They are a race which violates treaties and never shows gratitude to those who have been good to it but for a small gain they cast aside and trample on the cup of friendship. They passed by Kytzabis and plundered the area around Prilep. When the skouterios Xyleas, who was near the town with the army which was under his command, saw that the Serbian army was plundering the land and setting fires everywhere, he released his men to rush at the Serbs at random. The man knew nothing about matters of war and had no military experience at all for he did not have distant spies so as to learn of the advance of the enemy from afar nor did he know how to array an army. Since their battle-order had been broken up and they were few in number, they fell into the grip of the Serbs who outnumbered them, and they were defeated. Some were killed; others were taken alive and carried off as captives. Later when Xyleas himself, the skouterios, charged against the Serbs with the remaining soldiers, he barely escaped with his life, crossing mountains, hills and precipitous ground, pursued by the enemy. Thus the army at Prilep was destroyed in this way and we were shut up in the town as if in a prison.

LXXI. This is what happened to the men of Michael Komnenos Palaiologos and Michael Laskaris. When they had plundered Berroia they encamped in the region of Vodena which was flat and good for feeding horses. The renegade Michael, the Despot, having exact information about the Roman army, what size it was and that all except a small part of it was useless and worthless, chose from among his entire army, separating the best men from the rest — they came to five hundred in number — and sent them against the Roman army, appointing his bastard son Theodore general.

At that time Manuel Lapardas had been sent by the Emperor with a rough mob of an army to join the approaching commanders and he reproached them for having gone ahead and plundered, leaving him without a share of the profits. The commanders of the army were talking together about these matters while the rabble army under Manuel Lapardas, most of whom were riding mares loaded down with provisions, took the road which passes by the town of Vodena, without the knowledge of the other commanders, so that they could get there ahead of the others and plunder. But the army sent by the renegade Michael to make war on the Romans encountered them in a pass in the mountains of Vodena. When these men, brave soldiers who rode stately horses and were clad in full armour, encountered the ignoble little men who were without arms and were riding mares, they defeated them all instantly. Some of them fled and went to Michael Komnenos, reporting to him what had happened. But he was not disturbed by the unexpected news for he was strong, brave-spirited and battle-tried, having had practice in many previous wars. He armed himself, taking a spear and the Paphlagonian military detachment, numbering five hundred men, which was under Michael Laskaris — this alone was capable of fighting well — and set out against the enemy. Michael Laskaris, who had not put on a full coat of armour but only a partial one, as was his habit, so that he might more easily flee, was on the side-lines of the battle, watching the action. Michael Komnenos hurled his spear at the first person who came against him and threw him from his saddle. It was Theodore, the bastard son of the renegade Michael. When he had picked himself up from the fall, he approached Michael Komnenos, entreating him to spare his life. But Komnenos did not recognise him and was not told who he was. He therefore handed him over to a Turk who killed him. Then the Paphlagonians accompanying him engaged in close combat with the others, man to man, and the renegade Michael's men were routed at the end of the battle, while those of Michael Komnenos checked them, taking captive more than twenty of the

elite men and killing many others. But they could not drive them away because they were very few in number since, as we mentioned, the soldiers who had left earlier had dispersed and scattered. And so the business turned out unfortunately for them as it did for those in Prilep.

As Michael Komnenos, Michael Laskaris, and the generals with them were compelled by me to come to Prilep and meet with me, they came willy-nilly and stayed a few days. But since they did not have the force to engage in close combat and fight the renegade Michael, they left me and returned. For they perceived the treachery of the inhabitants and they realised that those who had been assigned to guard [the town] were of doubtful [loyalty]. Then I was left behind in Prilep with the guards of the town, for those were the Emperor's orders.

LXXII. The renegade Michael attacked us a second time. Since there was a truce and he realised that the imperial forces did not have the strength to fight him in close combat, he surrounded the town with a guard and set up siege towers. There were some inside with us who sympathised with him. He made a first attempt; arming his entire army, he assaulted the town, using archers and good slingers. In addition, they brought ladders in order to climb up around the town. But that time they were routed and many of them were killed, struck by stones and arrows. They were then quiet for some days until our men inside provoked them again and there was a more serious attempt on the town and a similar rebuttal. They were not able to do anything much; they suffered more [damage] than they themselves caused. Danger approached a third time and the same thing happened. The enemy quietened down and withdrew. They did not even dare approach. For when they did come near they suffered more loss than they inflicted. But those who were afflicted with disloyalty thought they would achieve their own ends in the heat of the battle. Those hearing

of it would be surprised if they had been defeated by one man who had not more than forty attendants and whose confidence derived from loyalty and truth alone. Since they found it impossible to achieve their ends by battle and confusion, they concocted the evil quietly. They found an excuse in the management of the provisions for the army which had been drawn up to defend the town. They led them from the battlements to the granary. The men who had planned this beforehand opened the gates without warning and the town of Prilep was taken, not because of the excellence of the enemy soldiers, nor because of the lack of fortifications, but because of the stupidity and disloyalty of the garrison. We were also taken captive.. The fortress of the acropolis was of no help to us for it was a boulder, accessible by a ten-rung ladder, if one were to assault it. The traitors wanted to attack us by night in order to kill us and take our possessions. But I saw this and we protected ourselves as best we could at the time and in the morning I made an agreement with the renegade Michael. He swore to me that we would arrive at the Emperor's territory from his region safely, free of harm and with our possessions. I released that small fortress to him. But his oaths were false; he perjured himself. He kept us in bonds and took us from place to place as prisoners.

When the Emperor heard about this he suspected bad things of me; he suspected, following human reasoning. For he had learned that the best of his generals in the west, in whom he had a great deal of confidence, had become subject to the renegade Michael, some even before the fortresses were taken, namely the skouterios Xyleas, Manuel Ramatas, Poulachas and others who were with them. Still others had surrendered after the take-over, namely, the epi tes trapezes Isaac Nestongos whom I had appointed to govern Ochrid, as I related earlier. Others, not a few of the distinguished and renowned men, had willingly subjected themselves to the rebel. The Emperor feared that I might also do the same. What had

recently happened between us had also disturbed his powers of reasoning. Those who knew me better insisted that I would never do such a thing. But when a long time had passed and he learned from those who returned that I had been taken prisoner and was confined in gaol and had fetters on my legs and hands, he was pleased with what I had done and was well-disposed towards me. He issued decrees concerning my property, stating that no one should dare set foot on it and damage it. This is how things were; affairs turned out in this way for the Emperor Theodore.

LXXIII. His wife's brother, Michael, ruler of the Bulgarians, a man who nurtured a great deal of hatred against his brother-in-law the Emperor of the Romans, was critically wounded by his first cousin Kaliman — with the knowledge of certain inhabitants of Trnovo — when he was somewhere outside the town ; he died immediately. His murderer, Kaliman, married his wife and resolved to usurp power over the Bulgarians but the Russian Ur came to Trnovo with an army and took his daughter, Michael's wife, away. For some men had already by that time killed Kaliman as he fled from place to place. Since the Bulgarian Empire was left without a legitimate heir, the magnates met in deliberation and determined to accept Constantine the son of Toichos to rule them. But so that the office should appear attractive to him and so that he might appear to govern by heredity, they sent an embassy to the Emperor Theodore requesting that he send his first daughter Eirene to be married to Constantine, son of Toichos, and be joined in lawful wedlock. She was a granddaughter of the former ruler of the Bulgarians, John Asen, and thus was well-suited to this rank. But since it happened that Constantine Toichos had a lawful wife, they separated her from her husband and sent her to the Emperor Theodore. This was the state of Bulgarian affairs; the Emperor Theodore had peace from them and things were quiet for both parties.

LXXIV. After these events the Emperor Theodore fell seriously ill. Medical remedies failed, as did all other forms of treatment. He suffered from the illness for a long time and his body was reduced to a skeleton. In the end he made a statement of repentance and became a monk. According to those who saw precisely what happened and who told me, he also made a confession worthy of a noble and generous soul. For, in imitation of the prostitute of the Gospels,⁺ he summoned the Archbishop of Mitylene to confess his sins and fell to the ground before his feet, washing the earth on which he lay with great streams of tears and turning it into mud. According to those who witnessed this and clearly related it to me, he frequently cried out, 'Christ, I have forsaken you', interjecting this [statement] into the words of his confession. And so he lived ***, having reigned for slightly less than four whole years for he began his reign in November and died in the month of August. His corpse was taken to the monastery of Sosandra and was buried there, as was the Emperor, his father. The Emperor Theodore died leaving three [unmarried] children, one son by the name of John and two daughters, Theodora and Eudokia. He had earlier married his other two daughters, the eldest called Eirene, to Constantine the son of Toichos, as we mentioned, and the other named Maria, to Nikephoros, the son of the renegade Michael. She died during the time of his revolt, some said as a result of frequent beating by her husband Nikephoros but others said that she succumbed to a natural illness.

LXXV. The Emperor Theodore's son John was very young at the time of his father's death. For he was not yet fully eight years old. His father the Emperor had made a will, supposedly for the child's sake, but really for his protovestiarhos, George Mouzalon. This will made Mouzalon master of all Roman affairs so that he had full authority over the entire Roman Empire until the Emperor's son should come of age. In addition, at the

⁺ Luke 7, 38.

Emperor's command oaths were taken on this by those who were present at the time. But the Emperor had not lain dead in his tomb for three days when all the Romans who were to be found there gathered together as if by common agreement. A considerable army was assembled there as well as the noble men of the first rank who had been maltreated by the Emperor. One of these was Alexios Strategopoulos who had been imprisoned, while his son Constantine had been blinded; Constantine Tornikes the Emperor John's megas primmerios who was purged by the Emperor his son [Theodore]; Theodore Philes who also had his eyes gouged out; George Zagarommates, who was the Emperor John's protovestiarites. his son had at first honoured him as parakoimomenos but a short time later purged him; the four sons of the protovestiaros Raoul who were also imprisoned; Nikephoros Alyates whom the Emperor [Theodore] had earlier honoured as epi tou kanikleiou but later cut off his tongue for no reason and purged him; as well as other valuable and well-known men. They joined the soldiers and went in a body to the monastery of Sosandra and attacked the protovestiaros, the guardian, and his brothers. The protovestiaros was residing there and was performing the funeral rites for the dead Emperor.

The protovestiaros learned of the people's approach and went inside the church with his brother Andronikos who had the title of megas domestikos and his eldest brother, whom they called a protokyneros. But when they saw the crowd coming at them with drawn swords, they entered the sanctuary and clung to the holy altar. It was there that they were slaughtered, nor did their slayers feel any compassion for them after the murder. So great was the wrath which all the people felt that they cut them up limb by limb, or rather, joint by joint, and even tore off small pieces of flesh, each man seizing his own bit until they were satiated. Gathering around the tomb of the Emperor Theodore they showered reproaches on him for having entrusted the Roman Empire and its affairs to loathsome little men, worthless specimens of humanity who had been raised on the

songs of the theatre and took pleasure in the flute and practised singing to the lyre and who were, to use the Homeric phrase, 'liars and excellent dancers'^{*}, while he neglected noble men and expert generals who had given good and satisfactory service to his father the Emperor. Such, then, was the turn of these events.

LXXVI. The Roman people, the officials, members of the military ranks, together with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, including the Patriarch and some of the more distinguished Bishops, deliberated on public matters, as to who would be worthy of taking on the administration and would be best at setting affairs in order. For they did not think it proper for the Roman Empire, being as great as it was, to be governed by a fruit-picking and dice-playing child but they decided that a man capable of saving the ship of the Romans should be seated at the imperial helm. For there were many head winds buffeting against it, and wave upon wave crashing and heaving; in short, it was in the midst of a storm and in need of a brave pilot so that it could ride out the dangers which were assailing it. At the moment its borders with the Persians were disturbed by attacks from the Tatars who were advancing against the Persians. For they had not yet made a final peace treaty or secured truces and agreements. The renegade Michael had subjected the territory in the west as far as the river Naxeios (popularly called the Vardar), had won over the small towns and fortresses there and ruled them as their master, without fear or danger. In addition, many people, especially those who were sensible, were apprehensive about something else, I refer to the marriage alliances of the renegade Michael. For he married his daughter Helen to the King of Sicily, Manfred, as we mentioned earlier, and contracted another alliance for his daughter Anna with the Prince of Achaia. And in

^{*}Il. 24. 261; see above 124,12-13.

Constantinople there was another enemy of the Romans, the Latin race, with their Emperor Baldwin.

As times were difficult for the Roman Empire, its prominent men were looking for someone to provide good leadership. Everyone had his eyes on Michael Komnenos, whom the narrative has often mentioned. But since the question had to be put to the people, so as to sound out their intentions and know whom each man favoured, the inquiry was made according to race and rank. The Romans were asked first; they replied in unison and agreement, as if with one voice, that they wanted Michael Komnenos to be regent and guardian of the state, and to have him as their own master. The Latin race did not need much time to answer when the question was put to them. They immediately asked for Michael Komnenos as leader in everything. But when the Scythians also were asked, they answered in intelligible Greek and not in a barbarian tongue, affirming that they knew of no one better than Michael Komnenos to govern all matters. Yet when the ecclesiastical hierarchy saw that Michael Komnenos had considerable qualms about taking the Roman Empire in hand (he shrank from the undertaking and put it off with the excuse that he would be transgressing the oath he had sworn on behalf of the Emperor Theodore's child), they not only gave their verbal consent to the action but even put it in writing in a tome which the Patriarch and all the bishops signed, stating that not only would he not be answerable for the deed at the impartial judgment seat of Christ but that holy wreaths would be plaited for him because he had come to save the Christian people. In this way they made Michael Komnenos put aside his fear and think reasonably as was necessary.

LXXVII. This is how Michael Komnenos entered upon the course for the office of Emperor. First they elevated him to the rank of Despot and put the Despot's fillet on his head. After a short time he was raised to the

imperial eminence, partly by his wish, partly against it, being under great pressure from the nobility who were concerned about public affairs. The officials and other leaders of the army seated him on the imperial shield and proclaimed him Emperor. But as it was necessary that he be crowned with an imperial diadem, he went to Nicaea, the capital city of Bithynia, and was crowned there with the imperial diadem by the Patriarch Arsenios.

Karyanites, one of the men who was singled out by the Emperor Theodore and who was a magnate — he had been his protovestiarites — was still alive. He had murdered the aforementioned protovestiaros and his brothers for he had been in control of the Roman army at that time. The Emperor Michael put him in prison so that he would not cause a revolution. But he ran away to the Persians and was seized by some Turkomans who robbed and murdered him. Of the important and famous men John Angelos, the protostrator was left; he was in the west with a large part of the army under his command. (The Emperor Theodore had loved him best after his protovestiaros and, in general, he had second place with regard to dignities and all other things.) The Emperor dispatched some of his men to him in order to bring him back but on the way he was struck by the arrow of cowardice and died. Such was the brave spirit of the the men appointed by the Emperor Theodore to be leaders of the Roman troops. They were his most eminent men, first in honours. The rest were little men not worthy of much notice and that is why they were disregarded as despised men.

Before the Emperor Michael was crowned Emperor he appointed his brother John Komnenos megas domestikos and handed over to him the Roman army, sending him to the west against the renegade Michael. With him he sent Alexios Strategopoulos and John Raoul, the eldest son of the protovestiaros Raoul, and many others skilled in strategy and in proper tactical procedure. When the Emperor Michael was proclaimed Emperor he made his brother John Komnenos sebastokrator and sent the insignia of his rank to him in the west.

He made Alexios Strategopoulos megas domestikos while he honoured Constantine, his brother by another mother, with the dignity of Caesar, and sent him to the region of Paphlagonia, to inspect the cities, the army and the fortresses there.

LXXVIII. When Michael Komnenos took hold of the imperial sceptre, he rescued and restored all those who, for whatever reason, had been imprisoned by the Emperor Theodore or had been neglected in some other way. He welcomed them back with ample gifts and, in general, was more generous to everyone in his reign, lavishly heaping money on them. You could see the Roman people of every rank, fortune, and way of life filled with delight and rejoicing at what was happening. It was like coming out from the deepest darkness into the clearest sunlight or from a storm into calm, from winter to spring, from a gale to stillness. Everyone was exulting and jumping for joy, having forgotten his previous painful and bitter existence.

The Latins in Constantinople and their so-called Emperor Baldwin sent an embassy to the Emperor asking for something excessive and really quite absurd. For they regarded the Emperor with contempt, because he had just come to power, and they made heavy demands. They started with the city of Thessalonike, requesting that the Emperor hand it over to them, as well as all the land [from Thessalonike] as far as Constantinople. When the Emperor heard this he responded to them playfully, saying, 'This is my native city. My father, I refer to the megas domestikos, governed there, as you know. He also died there and his body was buried there. Therefore, how can it be right for this city to be outside my Empire?' When the ambassadors heard this they pricked up their ears as if the Emperor might be willing to give them part of the territory they had asked for. They changed their tone and said, 'Then, O Emperor, give us the territory

starting from Serres and keep the rest.' The Emperor replied, 'It is not proper for me to fulfil this request either for it was there that I was first appointed to govern by the late Emperor, my uncle, and I first served as general in that city; I love the place as home ground and so it is not right for me to let this city go.' But the ambassadors leapt from one place to another with ease and with no preference for what they got so long as they got something. They replied, 'O Emperor, give us the land from Voleron to our territory.' The Emperor said, 'I often hunted in those parts — in fact, I more or less learned how to hunt there — and I do not think it is right to part with this land. I will want to hunt there again and to take pleasure in the chase.' The ambassadors then replied to the Emperor, 'What will you give us then?' The Emperor said,

I? nothing. You know me well and understand what war with me means; I knew how to fight you when I was governor of Bithynia and Tarsia. If you want peace from me, I want the Latins in Constantinople to pay the Roman Empire half of their kommerkion and the same amount of revenue from their chryseosetelon. If you promise to give me this I will keep peace. If not, there will be a war which, with God's help, will prove to the Romans' benefit.

Thus put to shame, the Latin ambassadors returned home to Constantinople with nothing accomplished.

LXXIX. The Emperor sent an embassy to the renegade Michael by Theodore Philes (who had been blinded by the Emperor Theodore). The embassy was conciliatory. In order to win his goodwill the Emperor ceded to the renegade many of the towns and territories which he possessed but he asked for the return of a few places which he could not afford to ignore. However, the renegade turned a deaf ear to the proposals. Not only did he not receive the embassy but he also made unseemly

replies since he was puffed up by his marriage alliance with Manfred, the King of Sicily, and also that with William, the Prince of Achaia, for he had by then accomplished this tie of kinship as well. This was the source of his big ideas and arrogant language. Theodore Philes was greatly distressed by this talk and troubled by the replies and so he returned to the Emperor after making this statement to the renegade: 'I know that you are speaking without thinking and that is why you are giving voice to unseemly remarks. But you should know that you will soon be tried by imperial strength and Roman force and you will be sorry when it is too late.' After he had spoken, he went to the Emperor, condemning Michael's great folly in not being willing to satisfy even the small request of the Emperor, to release Constantine Chabaron and myself, the author, immediately; Chabaron, because he had been brought up with the Emperor and had often fought with him on campaign; me, because I was related to the Emperor and my wife was crying pitifully and throwing herself at the Emperor's feet. And this even though the Emperor had released more than twenty men from prison, men whom the Emperor had taken captive in the battle at Vodena, and had sent to the Emperor Theodore, some of whom were relatives of the renegade, while others were among his best soldiers and were men of distinguished birth. This is how the embassy to the renegade fared.

The Emperor also sent an embassy to the renegade's son-in-law, Manfred, the King of Sicily, by Nikephoros Alyates, the epi tou kanikleiou, and Manfred detained him for nearly two years. For how could he fulfil the Emperor's wishes when he was completely bound to the renegade Michael and was obsessed by the dream of greater gain? The Emperor likewise sent an embassy to the Prince of Achaia. But he too had been emboldened by his marriage alliance with the renegade and had great expectations of it and so he held the proposals of no account.

LXXX. As we mentioned previously, the Emperor sent his brother the sebastokrator against the renegade in the west, entrusting to him troops and their generals and ordering him to keep advancing until he encountered the renegade's army. The sebastokrator John did as he was ordered. The renegade Michael was encamped with his wife and his retainers in the region of Kastoria. But he suddenly heard that the Roman army was crossing the valley at Vodena in an advance against them. When they heard this message, they were quite frightened and started to flee, giving everyone marching orders. Since it was night and they could not see where they were going, many fell victim to the road as if it were a sword. Theodore Petraliphas, brother of the renegade Michael's wife, mounted his horse recklessly, as he was on the edge of a cliff, he and his horse fell over and both died. They drew back then as far as their own boundaries, namely the Pyrrenala mountains which separate Old and New Epiros from our Hellenic land.

When this had happened to them, the sebastokrator took advantage of the opportunity and attacked the towns there, finding the territory without any reserve. First he went to Ochrid, known to everyone as the archiepiscopal see of Bulgaria, accompanied by its Archbishop, Constantine Kabasilas who had been imprisoned by the Emperor Theodore. He had been suspected by the latter of not being true to the imperial regime for his brothers John and Theodore were with the renegade Michael; Theodore was one of his [Michael's] notables while John was master over practically all his affairs, administering both public and personal matters. It was for this reason that the Emperor Theodore did not have confidence in the bishop, as we mentioned. But the Emperor Michael was more liberal in these matters and depended on God in most, if not all, of his actions. He gave the Archbishop freedom to go to his [see] and he accompanied the sebastokrator. When they came to Ochrid, as we said, the sebastokrator set up siege engines against it while the Archbishop undertook to win it

over with negotiations. They captured Ochrid in a short time.

When the sebastokrator had put affairs there in good order, he left for Deabolis and resolved to bring the town to terms with the use of mechanical contrivances of every kind. He gave orders and set up siege towers and all kinds of engines and he made constant attacks, doing everything he could to bring about the conquest of the town. Things turned out according to his plan for many of the people inside the town were killed, and no small number were wounded by arrows. Others showed their cowardice (for the western race is by nature cowardly when it comes to defending towns) and they surrendered the town of Deabolis to the sebastokrator. All the territory around these towns, namely Prespa, Pelagonia, Soskos and Molyskos, became subject to the authority of the Roman forces and was subjected by them. For the inhabitants of the western parts are the sort that easily succumb to everyone who wields power. In this way they avoid death and preserve most of their wealth. This happened in the spring.

LXXXI. Since the renegade Michael saw that things were already looking as if they would not turn out well for him, he resolved to resist the imperial forces and he put every contrivance in motion and left no stone unturned, as they say.* He assembled all his retainers, summoning everyone, en masse. He also received a large auxiliary force from his son-in-law, the King of Sicily: four hundred knights clad in full armour and mounted on stately and high-spirited horses; each one of these men was an eminent member of his race. His other son-in-law, the Prince of Achaia, collected his entire army and fulfilled in person the terms of the alliance with his father-in-law, himself leading the large army. It was composed of Franks, and of the Roman inhabitants of Achaia and the Peloponnesos over whom he ruled; most of them were Lakonians.

*Corp. Paroem. Graec. II, 201: πάντα λίσθον καὶ πάντα κάλων κινεῖ.

A very large army was assembled and it attacked the Emperor's brother, the sebastokrator John. But he had good advice from his brother the Emperor and he struck back at his adversaries with strategy. He held the strongest places with the forces who were fully armed with coats of mail, while he ordered the lighter foot soldiers — being light they moved easily — to join battle with the enemy in the plains. They were Scythians and Turks, and many Romans as well who were proficient in archery. They attacked the enemy, striking them with arrows from a distance. The offensive began in a place called 'Borilla Longos'. They did not give them a chance to march freely in the daytime or to rest at night. For they clashed with them in the day as they were watering their horses — if someone wandered away to water his horse — and they attacked them also on the road, drawing near their carts and beasts of burden and plundering their goods, while the guards yielded. After they had done this many times they were driven to such an immoderate degree of boldness against the enemy that they plundered whatever was around, taking things from their very hands. The army of the rebel Michael was humiliated by this and afflicted with great terror for it had lost practically all hope of deliverance.

Perforce they passed by Stanos, Soskos, and Molyskos. It was their aim to reach the town of Prilep in order to retrieve it. When they arrived, they disbanded, each man with the plan of running for his life as quickly as he could. The renegade Michael, with his son Nikephoros and a few other men to whom he was accustomed to entrust his affairs, mounted their horses in the night and fled. They knew the road well. But already with the dawn of day the commanders of the troops became aware of Michael's flight and so they also fled. Then the Roman army and the better commanders and John, the bastard son of the renegade, went over to the sebastokrator John, and gave him their hand and swore oaths to the Emperor. The Prince of Achaia and his men scattered. The Prince was captured in Kastoria; he was

hiding under some hay but one of the soldiers recognised him by his teeth — his front teeth were very large and protruded from his gums — and he was taken captive to the Emperor. The best men of his division, his relations, Anselm of Toucy and Geoffrey of Karitana, and many other well-known men were captured, some at Platamon, others elsewhere, and were led away captive to the Emperor. The allied forces sent to the renegade by Manfred, the King of Sicily, four hundred men (as I said), with their arms and their horses, were rounded up by four men, one of whom was the megas domestikos, Alexios Strategopoulos; another was Nikephoros Rimpas, who was a Turk by race but had become a true Christian. The other two men were not distinguished. The victory which our men accomplished with the help of imperial counsel was so great that its fame reached to all the ends of the earth. For the sun has seen few such victories. At that time our men subjected every town and every territory.

LXXXII. The sebastokrator John passed through Thessaly and when he had fortified the towns and fortresses there, encamped at Neopatras. He had with him John, the bastard son of the renegade Michael. The megas domestikos, Alexios Strategopoulos, and John Raoul crossed the Pyrrenean mountains and proceeded to Arta, leaving a division of the army in Ioannina to besiege the town. They then occupied Arta.

It was there that I met with them. I conferred with them for a few days, then made arrangements and departed from Arta, leaving the people there no longer well-disposed to our men, for the troops did not treat them well. It was for this reason that that most notable victory which shone upon the Romans was reversed in a short time. Then I went straight to the sebastokrator John, the Emperor's brother, who was at Neopatras and stayed with him a few days before starting on the road towards the Emperor.

John, the bastard son of the renegade Michael, who was with the sebastokrator, plotted rebellion with a few other men. Revealing the treachery he had nurtured he defected to his father, the renegade Michael, with some other men at the time when the sebastokrator John was advancing against the Latins, passing by Levadia and plundering Thebes. Now [Michael] , disturbed by the sudden turn of events and with no land to stand on, had embarked in boats with his son Nikephoros and his wife and some of his men and they passed their time on the sea, using the surrounding islands that is, Leukas and the islands of Kephallenia, as resting places. But when his bastard son John went to him, as was mentioned, he recovered from his torpor and, shaking off his fear, he went to Arta. When he arrived there and found all the inhabitants devoted to him, and the town of Bouditza held by his side, he gathered together the men who were there and drove ours out of the bounds of Arta. In addition, he drove the besiegers of Ioannina far from Ioannina. This then was the beginning of bad times^{*} for the Roman state. The good achievements which had been brought about by the Emperor's counsel were reduced to nothing, or hardly anything, because of the disobedience and lack of discipline of those in command.

The Emperor's brother, the sebastokrator John, and his father-in-law, Constantine Tornikes, left the battle, returning to the Emperor who was at Lampsakos. The Emperor honoured the sebastokrator John with the rank of Despot as a reward for the victory and also that he might be equal to the men he was fighting, a Despot, contending against Despots. To his father-in-law, Constantine Tornikes, who was megas primmikeros, he gave the rank of sebastokrator. But he also named his own brother, the Caesar Constantine, sebastokrator. The insignia of the sebastokrators differed in this: the Emperor's brother had gold eagles attached to his blue shoes while Tornikes' shoes were plain. The Emperor also honoured Alexios

* Il. 11, 604: κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλειν ἀρχή.

Strategopoulos, the megas domestikos, making him Caesar by proxy, conferring the honour on him by dispatch. And this is how things turned out.

LXXXIII. The Emperor spent the winter in Lampsakos, but in the spring he proceeded against Constantinople. For his every effort and purpose was to rescue it from the hands of the Latins. He marched against Constantinople, not because he had confidence in his troops (for he was not leading an army capable of besieging such a city) but because he had been beguiled by the assertions of his cousin, named Anselm. But he deceived the Emperor saying that he had his home by the city walls and had control over the gates through which he could let the Emperor's army enter the city without a sound or struggle. And when he said this he was believed. For their blood ties provided the illusion that the man was telling the truth and he had received promises, confirmed by oaths, of more honours and gifts *** of the Franks of the Prince of Achaia in battle; he had expected bad things but got his share of many good things. When he made these promises, to the Emperor he received promises in return. As we said, the Emperor, placing his hopes in these [promises], proceeded against Constantinople and encamped on the far side of the Horn,* to the north of the city in a place called Galata. He pretended that he was fighting against the fortress of Galata but he was really sending for Anselm in secret that he might make good his promises. But the latter looked to his interests rather than the truth. He gave false replies, putting the blame on others. When a considerable length of time had passed and he had done nothing, the army got ready and went to his house at night — he had been told that this would happen — and at this point it became obvious that he was lying. Since he had no reasonable excuse to make, he put the blame on the archon of the city. He said, 'He

*τὸ κέρας, the Golden Horn: Strabo, 319; Schol. Ap. Rh. 4, 282.

suspected that it was not good for me to have the keys to the gates of the city and so he took them from me. That is why I cannot do anything.' When the Emperor plainly saw the man's deceit, he left the place. The Latins sent three ambassadors to the Emperor as he was on his way, asking for a truce. The Emperor granted this for one year only, causing them considerable restriction.

LXXXIV. The Emperor crossed the Hellespont and arrived at the region of Pegai where he spent some time. When the summer had passed and the autumn as well, he left this area and went to Nymphaion to rest, an imperial custom since the time of the exile from Constantinople and he sent me as an ambassador to the ruler of the Bulgarians, Constantine. I went and stayed with him a few days. It was just then [the time of] Christ's feast days, Christmas and Epiphany. The Bulgarian rulers are particularly ceremonial on the day of Epiphany and Constantine, the Bulgarian ruler at that time, wanted me to stay with them and witness the festivities. When I had carried out my orders I left Trnovo and went to the Emperor who was at Nymphaion. The Emperor spent the winter there and in the spring he left Nymphaion after he had celebrated the illustrious day of the Anastasis of the Lord. When he had spent some time in Phlebioi, he went to a place called something like Klyzomene and took up residence. The Emperors were accustomed to stay there and to pass most of the spring there after leaving Nymphaion. For the entire region is level and provides enough pasturage for many horses; it is also irrigated and is near many villages and cities which supply abundant provisions.

While the Emperor was there the sebastokrator Tornikes came from Nicaea and the Emperor had some trouble on account of Arsenios, the previous Patriarch. For the patriarchal throne was without an incumbent since the Patriarch Nikephoros who had been transferred from the bishopric of

Ephesos to the patriarchal throne, had left this world and departed for the eternal resting place, having honoured the patriarchal throne for less than a full year. Arsenios — a dull man both in speech and action — had been proposed for the position of Patriarch by the Emperor Theodore. He had no reason gracing him, neither the sort which comes from an education nor that from nature but, in addition, he had a terrible disposition; being harsh in manner, quick to hate, [slow] to become a friend, and bearing ill-will just like a shadow which follows the body. At the beginning of the Emperor's reign he went along with everything that was done and was friendly to the Emperor. But after he crowned the Emperor he immediately made an about-face and was hateful to him. In this he had as accomplices Andronikos [Metropolitan] of Sardis and Manuel [Metropolitan] of Thessalonike who was called Opsaras. At the time when the Emperor took up a position against Constantinople and was encamped near the city, the Metropolitan of Sardis was invested as a monk by Ioannikios, [Metropolitan] of Philadelphia. For he had often been a nuisance to the Emperor about going to Paphlagonia, that is where he was from. The Emperor thoroughly understood the man's cunning and did not allow him to go to that region for it was his object to stir up all of Paphlagonia in hatred against the Emperor. The Emperor quite rightly told him, 'I appointed you Metropolitan of Sardis, not of Paphlagonia, and you should choose to live in the region of Sardis and stay there and tend your flock.' Therefore, when he realised that the imperial will was unchangeable he chose the life of a monk since there was nothing he could do. The Metropolitan of Thessalonike, Manuel, left Nicaea against his will and resided somewhere nearby. The Patriarch Arsenios also left from there and lived in a small monastery, going into seclusion and giving an effective resignation, although not in writing. As a result, all the bishops met at Lampsakos, and Nikephoros, the Metropolitan of Ephesos, was elevated to the Patriarchal throne by a unanimous vote and the Emperor's orders. He was a most reverend

and proper man in speech and manner, pleasant to all who met him. But just as I said previously, he did not live even one year [as Patriarch] before he died. Then the sebastokrator Tornikes (he was friends with Arsenios, somehow or other), pressed the Emperor to restore Arsenios to the patriarchal throne, describing some miracles and portents worked by Arsenios, although others who were in a position to give advice did not want this to happen. But the Emperor's goodness and readiness to do well made him agree to the sebastokrator's advice and Arsenios was again elevated to the Patriarchal throne, after he had stated in writing that his thoughts and actions with regard to the Emperor would be correct.

LXXXV. The Emperor sent Alexios Strategopoulos, the Caesar, to the western regions with some troops he had prepared to join battle with the enemies of the Romans there. He gave orders that he should make an assault on Constantinople as he was passing through (since the road runs near the city) and the army should run up to its very gates so as to frighten the Latins inside. It came about that on that occasion something happened by the providence of God. A large Latin hollow* ship from Venice arrived at Constantinople with a young potentate on it whom they call a Podestà. He was, as became apparent, energetic and adventurous in matters of war. He urged all the Latins in Constantinople to go to battle, advising that, 'We must not only stay inside the city, guarding⁵ it and ourselves, but we should also take some action against the Romans so that they will not be altogether contemptuous of us in their [attacks] against us.' He persuaded them, therefore, to embark in the galleys they had and some other ships, such as the feluccas⁺ and dromonds, and to set sail for the

* κοῦλος, α,ον, Homeric epithet for ships: e.g. Il. 1, 26, perhaps the equivalent of a transport ship: see Mc Neal commentary on Robert of Clari, 132-133.

+ λεμβόδιον = λέμβος: fast-sailing galley.

island of Daphnousia, to see if they might be able to bring it to terms and gain a good share of its spoils. The city was therefore emptied of its men and it was administered and guarded by women, children and Baldwin, their so-called Emperor, with a modest number of men.

Then the Caesar Alexios Strategopoulos suddenly came up to Constantinople at night. Since he also had with him some men who had come from the city and who had precise information about it, he inquired and learned that there was an opening at the wall of the city through which an armed man could pass and so he did not delay but set to work. A man passed through and another followed him, and then another, until up to fifteen men, perhaps even more, had entered the city in this manner. But since at the wall they found one of the men who were entrusted with keeping watch, some of the men climbed up, took him by the legs and hurled him out of the city. Others took hold of axes and broke the bars on the gates, thus giving the army free entry into the city. It was in this way that the Caesar Strategopoulos and all the Romans and Scythians with him (this was the composition of his army) entered the city. As the people inside were shaken by the suddenness of the event, everyone sought his salvation as best he could. Some went to the monasteries and put on monks' clothes in order to escape death, while women covered at the openings of the walls and hid in dark passageways and concealed places. The ruler of the city, Baldwin, rushed to the Great Palace.

The Latins who had gone to Daphnousia and the Podestà with them, knowing nothing of what had happened, started back to the city, since they had not been able to accomplish anything against the island of Daphnousia — for God held them back. They got as far as the church of the Archangel Michael near Anaplous without learning anything at all of what had transpired. But when they arrived there and learned, they rushed back to the city. However, the Roman army was aware of this and set fire to

the houses of the Latins by the shore — they call them campos — and burned them, first the houses of the Venetians, then those of the other peoples. When the Latins saw the city in flames, they smote their cheeks with their hands and left, taking as many people as they could into their galleys and other ships. One galley went to the Great Palace and took Baldwin who had come close to being captured. And that was how it happened. By the providence of God Constantinople again became subject to the Emperor of the Romans, in a just and fitting way, on the twenty-fifth of July, the fourth indiction, in the six thousandth, seven hundredth and sixty-ninth year [1261] since the creation of the world, after an enemy occupation of fifty-eight years.

LXXXVI. While the Emperor was encamped near Meteorion, suddenly one night a report struck the ears of the crowd. The report came from a child servant of the Emperor's sister Eirere (after she took monastic vows she was renamed Eulogia) who came to her from the region of Bithynna . The servant had learned of the conquest of Constantinople by the Roman army while travelling . The Emperor's sister went to the Emperor as quickly as she could and, finding him asleep, shook him gently with her hand in order to awaken him, saying to him in a whisper, 'You have taken Constantinople, O Emperor.' She said this more than once but the Emperor did not move or respond to her. But when she changed her statement and said, 'Get up Emperor; Christ has given Constantinople to you, ' he got out of bed and stretching his hands to heaven said, 'This statement, O sister, I accept. The first thing you said, that I had taken Constantinople, I cannot accept. For how could I take possession of Constantinople from Meteorion ? I did not even send an adequate army against it. But I agree that these things are easy for God and it is in His power speedily to grant the almost impossible to whomever he wishes.'

Having said this he assembled all the officials who were with him at the time and inquired whether they thought the report true. Some men, especially those who had learned about the exodus of the Latins in detail, held that it was true. But others, those to whom knowledge of the decisions of higher providence has not been granted, doubted the report, considering the deed to be among the most difficult to accomplish. The night passed in conversations of this sort. When day dawned, it was everyone's hope that some one would arrive to convey the truth to the camp but that day passed too and no such person appeared. Everyone was distressed and troubled, especially the Emperor. But the following night the man who conveyed the happy message came and spoke about the matter plainly, saying that the Roman army with the Caesar Strategopoulos was within Constantinople; and he told them what the situation was.

LXXXVII. The Emperor was glad to leave Meteorion because he was eager to reach Constantinople quickly, fearing that the Latins might at any time return from Daphnusia, enter the city, put up a strong fight against the Romans and cast them outside the walls since they greatly outnumbered the Romans. But this did not happen since they had been shaken by the unexpected and had already fled, just as the narrative disclosed. The Emperor speeded up the journey. When we had passed the mountains of Kalaros and the Emperor had encamped near Achyraous, it was then that the imperial insignia of Baldwin, the so-called Emperor of Constantinople, were brought to him. These were a crown, Latin in shape, decorated with pearls and with a red gem on top, red slippers and a sword sheathed in a red silk cover. Then most people believed the story, for the magnitude of the deed had prevented anyone from believing the reports too readily.

The Emperor hurried; he covered greater distances at greater speed. As the Emperor was approaching Constantinople it occurred to him

to make an entry into the city in a manner more reverential to God than imperial, and he planned how it should take place, through declarations of thanksgiving to God and prayers uttered on behalf of the Emperor, the clergy, the city, its inhabitants and the population. Since he required someone to write the prayers, he decided to goad the philosopher Blemmydes to do it. However the man was far away — he lived at Ephesos — and the business was getting delayed. But the Emperor did not wish to put off his entry. He was displeased with the state of affairs but I resolved the difficulty for him. I said, 'If, O Emperor, you want the prayers to be by a holy man, I have nothing to say. But if you should choose to have your wish executed by anyone at all who is able to write, I could satisfy your desire and write the prayers for you.' This seemed better to the Emperor and he preferred [to have] prayers written by me for a quick entry. I therefore set about the work immediately; a whole day and night had not quite passed before I had written thirteen prayers, each one with its own subject.

LXXXVIII. The Emperor arrived at Constantinople. It was then the fourteenth of August. He did not want to enter Constantinople on that day; instead he lodged at the Kosmidion monastery which is near the Blachernai. He spent the night there and in the morning he entered Constantinople in the following manner. Since the Patriarch Arsenios was not present (as he was not excited by the good news and was ill-disposed to the Emperor and almost hated him because the city of Constantinople had been added to the Roman Empire by him) it was necessary for one of the bishops to pronounce the prayers. The Metropolitan of Cyzicus, George, also named Kleidas, performed the service. He climbed to the top of one of the towers of the Golden Gate with the icon of the Theotokos which is named after the monastery ton Odegon, and recited the prayers for everyone to hear. The Emperor took off his crown and knelt on the ground and all his companions who were behind

him fell to their knees. When the first of the prayers had been said, the deacon made the motion to rise up and they all stood up and said the 'Kyrie Eleeson' one hundred times. And when these were finished the bishop cried out another prayer. The second [prayer] was completed like the first and so on until all the prayers were said. When the holy ritual had taken place in this manner, the Emperor entered the Golden Gate in a manner more reverential to God than imperial; he walked preceded by the icon of the Mother of God. He went as far as the Stoudios monastery and when he had left the icon of the immaculate Mother of God there, he mounted a horse and went to the church of the Wisdom of God. There he worshipped the Lord Christ and gave Him due thanks and then went to the Great Palace. On that occasion the Roman people were festive and full of rejoicing and uncontained joy. There was no one who was not jumping for joy and almost incredulous because of the unexpectedness of the event and his exceeding happiness.

As it was necessary for the Patriarch to be in Constantinople, he was persuaded by their arguments to come after a few days' interval. The Emperor went to the holy building, the church of the Great Wisdom, in order to deliver the throne to its bishop. All the officials and the distinguished archontes and all the people assembled with the Emperor. The Emperor took the hand of the Patriarch and said, 'You have your throne, Lord. Enjoy now the kathedra which you have long been deprived of.' And this is what happened between the Emperor and the Patriarch.

LXXIX. Something else happened on that occasion and not to commit it to writing would, I consider, be most improper. I had written an oration in honour of the deliverance of Constantinople. The opening theme of the oration was thanksgiving to God for His beneficence to the Romans and His compassionate solicitude and help. A panegyric expressing gratitude to the Emperor was included in the oration. The request at the end of the oration was for the co-proclamation of the Emperor's first-born child, Andronikos

Komnenos, with his father. This was unknown to most people, especially the officials who also did not approve of the business. Our leading men, the Despot John, the Emperor's brother, and his father-in-law, the sebastokrator Tornikes, did not know what the theme [of the oration] was nor about the proposal, and so they compelled the Emperor to hear the oration. (Even though the Caesar Strategopoulos was present, he took little interest in these matters.) The Emperor was annoyed for it was already noon and it was time for the midday meal ***

I. In dealing with the prooimia to Byzantine histories it is difficult to ascertain how much is literary convention, how much an indication of the author's views on the subject of historiography. Akropolites' statement is no less a problem in this respect. However, if one compares Akropolites' introduction with the prooimia of roughly contemporary authors, i.e. Pachymeres and Skoutariotes, Akropolites' prooimion gives an impression of being more heavily indebted or tied to literary models than the others. For instance, Pachymeres gives an explanation of his sources (I, 11,7-12,4). Skoutariotes tells his readers in what lies the value of his work; it is a synopsis written in a clear, simple language (ed. Sathas, 3-4). Akropolites, on the other hand, writes more about what others have said in their histories, than about his own views. And when he does make a statement about his work it turns out to be a quotation from a classical author; see on 4,18-21.

Pseudo-Sphrantzes, or Makarios Melissenos, Metropolitan of Monembasia, uses Akropolites' prooimion, practically word for word. See Grecu, ed., 150-152; idem, BS 26 (1965), 67-68, and the Introduction, 54.

3,1-6. It is true that the 'praise' of history, or an exposition of the usefulness of history is a theme in most prooimia. See Choniates (CSHB, 3-4; ed. van Dieten, 1-2), Pachymeres (I,12-13). In avoiding to add to the wealth of statements on this subject, Akropolites is perhaps imitating Polybius (I,1-2). See R. Guillard, Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras (Paris, 1926), 233.

3,11. By $\chi\upsilon\delta\eta\nu\ \rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ I assume that Akropolites is referring to rumour and to the talk of the common, uneducated people. See below 54, 3-4 where he uses a similar pejorative phrase with respect to popular, i.e., non-classical speech.

4,18-21. This is the sine ira sine odio of Tacitus, found not infrequently in the prooimia of Byzantine authors; see Guillard's comment on this, Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras, 233.

II-IV. Akropolites' treatment of events leading to, and culminating in, the Latin conquest of Constantinople is summary and serves only to introduce his real subject, the 'Empire of Nicaea'. For the most part his narrative follows the correct sequence of events. He seems to have been well-informed, although it is not possible to identify his source. It is certain, however, that he did not use Choniates' account. See below on 7,22-24, and the Introduction, pp.50-52.

4,27-5,1. Isaac II (1185-1195) and Alexios III (1195-1203) were descended from a daughter of Alexios I Komnenos but were Angeloi by birth. Upon coming to the throne Alexios changed his name from Angelos to Komnenos because of the greater prestige of the latter name; see Choniates, CSHB, 605,8-11; ed. van Dieten, 459,54-56.

5,4-6. In April 1195, while Isaac was encamped at Kypsella, Thrace, awaiting troops for his expedition against the Vlachs, a group of Alexios' supporters in the army proclaimed him Emperor. Isaac fled from the camp but was caught and blinded at the monastery at Bera, between Makri and Kypsella: Choniates, CSHB, 593-595; ed. van Dieten, 450-452; Brand, Byzantium, 112-113.

5,6-8. Isaac's first wife is not known. She died before he came to the throne in 1185, leaving two daughters and a son, Alexios; see Choniates, CSHB, 481,18-21; ed. van Dieten, 368,43-46. Isaac's son Manuel by his second wife, Margaret-Maria of Hungary, was born during his reign but Isaac seems to have considered Alexios his heir: Choniates, CSHB, 548; ed. van Dieten, 419.

Alexios, described as a $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\rho}\alpha\chi\eta$ by Akropolites, could have been in his late teens or early twenties. For Akropolites' use of the word see below 63,21-22; also J. Folda, 'The Fourth Crusade, 1201-1203: Some Reconsiderations', BS 26 (1965), 285 and note 36.

5,9. The Emperor Alexios III freed Alexios from prison to take him on a campaign against Manuel Kammytzes, his rebellious protostrator. But Alexios escaped from the camp and boarded a Pisan vessel which was anchored at the port of Athyra in the Sea of Marmara. See Choniates, CSHB, 711-712; ed. van Dieten, 536-538.

The date of Alexios' flight to the west has been a central issue for scholars engaged in the 'diversion question' of the Fourth Crusade. For a summary of the various opinions on this problem see E. McNeal and R.L. Wolff, 'The Fourth Crusade', in A History of the Crusades, II, edd. Setton, Wolff, Hazard, 168-173. There is much evidence in favour of the year 1201. See Brand, Byzantium, App. 2, 276-277; H. Grégoire, 'The Question of the Diversion of the Fourth Crusade, or, an old controversy solved by a Latin adverb', B 15 (1940-1941), 158-166.

5,10. Akropolites' statement that Alexios went directly to the Pope is in disagreement with other sources. The western narrative sources state or imply that Alexios went to seek help from Philip of Swabia, King of Germany, Isaac II's son-in-law. Isaac had written to his daughter, Eirene, Philip's wife, from prison, asking for help: Choniates, CSHB, 711, 2-6; ed. van Dieten, 536, 23-26. However, Akropolites' account appears to be confirmed by Pope Innocent's letter of 16 November 1202 to the Emperor Alexios III in which he says that Alexios had been to see him but had left and gone to Philip (PL, CCXIV, cols. 1123-1124). But the Pope's statement does not rule out the possibility that Alexios had met with Philip before visiting the Pope. For this argument see Folda, BS 26 (1965), 284. In fact, it is probable that Alexios did visit his sister first. This sequence of events is supported by Choniates (CSHB 712, 2-8; 715, 2-4; ed. van Dieten, 537, 44-48; 539, 6-8) and the Chronicle of Novgorod (ed. Hopf, 94). Akropolites' account cannot be relied upon here, particularly since his narrative concerning the Fourth Crusade is simplified and short.

5,12-18. Soon after Innocent III became Pope in 1198 he made plans for a new crusade to recover Jerusalem. Forces raised in northern France in 1199 formed the core of the army which went on the crusade. There were also Germans, Lombards and Venetians. See McNeal and Wolff in A History of the Crusades, II, 160. Akropolites uses the word 'Ἰταλοί' to refer to all westerners, including the Franks. On this see below on 13, 7-10 and P. Karlin-Hayter, 'Notes sur le ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΟΝ dans l'armée et les historiens de Nicée', BE 4 (1972), 142-150.

The name 'Elder Rome', ἡ πρεσβύτερη Ῥώμη, was in use from the fourth century as an epithet for Rome, in distinction from Constantinople, the 'New Rome'. See E. Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae (Munich, 1968), 72; 93; V. Laurent, 'Le titre de Patriarche Oecumenique et la signature patriarchale', REB 6 (1948), 5-26.

5,19-21. Despite the use of δυσωπηθεῖς to describe the Pope's state of uneasiness, Akropolites clearly indicates that the Pope was responsible for steering the crusaders towards Constantinople. According to Akropolites, the crusaders were quite willing to be diverted for they were using Jerusalem only as an 'excuse'.

Pope Innocent's letter to the Emperor Alexios III states that the young Alexios made no promises directly to him but rather to Philip of Swabia. The Pope learned of them through Philip's ambassadors. His promises were 'large', especially the ones which interested the Pope, for Alexios pledged to help in the recovery of the Holy Land and to conform to the Pope's wishes with regard to the union of the churches. See the letter, 16 November 1202: PL, CCXIV, col. 1124; also 5, 22-25.

5,21-22. The Pope's role is not as clearly defined as Akropolites has presented it. Innocent, in his letter to Alexios III assured him that he would not allow the crusading forces to attack Constantinople: PL, CCXIV, col. 1124. However, Choniates claims that Alexios (IV) had a letter of recommendation from the Pope to the crusaders (CSHB, 715, 2-4; ed. van Dieten, 539, 6-8). For a discussion of the Pope's role see

B. Primov, 'The Papacy, the Fourth Crusade and Bulgaria', BB 1 (1962), 183-211; Setton, The Papacy and the Levant, 7-9.

5,22-25. Alexios' proposal was larger than the one Akropolites gives. He promised the crusaders and Venetians 200,000 marks and provisions. To help the crusaders in their recovery of the Holy Land he would contribute 10,000 men for a year and maintain a garrison of 500 troops at his expense for his lifetime. See Villehardouin, 93; Robert of Clari, 31; Choniates, CSHB, 715,5-11; ed. van Dieten, 539, 9-15.

5,26. Akropolites uses archaising language to describe the ships. Choniates is more specific. He lists 110 horse transports (ἱππαγωγῶν), 60 galleys (νηῶν μακρῶν) and 70 merchant ships or freighters (πλοίων στρογγύλων): CSHB, 714, 16-19; ed. van Dieten, 539, 94-2. Robert of Clari, 9, and the Devastatio (ed. Hopf, 87) agree that the fleet was composed of these three types of vessels. Akropolites' Homeric 'hollow ships' (ναυσὶ κοίλαις: Il. 1.26) should be identified with the 'round ships' (πλοίων στρογγύλων) or freighters of Choniates' account. The 'triremes' (τριηρεῖς) are equivalent to galleys and have been translated as such throughout the text.

5,27. The fleet left Venice in October 1202. Alexios joined the crusaders at Corfu from which the fleet sailed in May 1203: Villehardouin, 75, 112, 119; Robert of Clari, 12-15; Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 88. That the voyage was favoured by winds is mentioned also by Villehardouin (119) and Choniates (CSHB, 717,15-17; ed. van Dieten, 541,56-58). Akropolites' reference to this detail would seem to be an indication of his use of a written source.

5,28. The fleet came within sight of Constantinople on 23 June 1203: Robert of Clari, 40; Villehardouin, 134, 136; Choniates, CSHB, 717,16-18; ed. van Dieten, 541, 58-542,1.

5,28-29. Alexios had led the crusaders to believe that he had supporters in the city. See the Chronicle of Novgorod, ed. Hopf, 94: tota urbs...me imperatorem cupit. The crusaders, expecting a popular response, displayed him to the people by parading him along the walls of the city in a galley. The people were urged to receive him as their 'lord': 'Veez ici vostre seignor naturel' (Villehardouin, 145-146). See also Robert of Clari, 41. Choniates does not mention this episode.

6,1. Akropolites must be referring to the envoy Alexios III sent to the crusaders' camp at Scutari and to the crusaders' reply. The Emperor Alexios offered money and supplies to help them on their way to the Holy Land. They replied by demanding that he yield the throne to its rightful occupant: Villehardouin, 141-144; Robert of Clari, 41.

6,2. The land battles Akropolites mentions took place at Galata and in the area of the Blachernai palace in July 1203. See Villehardouin, 156-162; 164; 171-180; Robert of Clari, 42-43; 45-52; Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 89; Choniates, CSHB, 718-719; 721-722; ed. van Dieten, 542, 72-543; 544-546.

6,3-9. Only Akropolites mentions this alleged statement of Alexios who fled in the night of 17 July to Develtos on the Black Sea, taking with him gold, jewels and his daughter Eirene: Villehardouin, 182; Robert of Clari, 52; Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 89. According to Choniates, his wife Euphrosyne did not flee with him; she and her relatives were arrested in Constantinople (CSHB, 723, 15-23; 727, 21-23; ed. van Dieten, 546, 72-547, 79; 550, 30-31). She left the city later, at the time of its conquest, with her daughter Eudokia: Villehardouin, 266 and note below on 9, 10-11.

III. 6, 10-13. The night of Alexios' flight the blind Isaac was released from prison and set on the throne. In the morning the young Alexios was invited to enter the city. However, according to other

sources, there was no question of his proclamation as Emperor at this time for his father was already on the throne. See note on 6, 15-16; Choniates, CSHB, 727-728; ed. van Dieten, 550-551; Villehardouin, 182; Robert of Clari, 52-53; Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 89.

6,13-14. The crusaders would not allow Alexios to enter Constantinople until Isaac confirmed by verbal oath and chrysobull that he would fulfil the conditions of their agreement with Alexios. See note on 5,21-22; Villehardouin, 184-189; Choniates, CSHB, 728, 3-9; ed. van Dieten, 550, 36-41.

6,15-16. Alexios was not proclaimed Emperor until 1 August 1203. See the short chronicle (Kodinos chronicle), ed. P. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 14, 150; Alexios' letter to Pope Innocent, dated 25 August 1203, in which he mentions his coronation: PL, CCXV, 236-237; Villehardouin, 193; Robert of Clari, 56; Choniates, CSHB, 736, 1-11; ed. van Dieten, 556,93-557,6.

6,16-21. Alexios and Isaac had promised to give the crusaders 200,000 silver marks to cover their debt to the Venetians. Alexios paid half this sum upon his coronation but payments after that were slow and small: Robert of Clari, 56; Villehardouin, 208.

6,21-22. An indication of the resentment felt towards the Latins at this time can be seen in an oration written by Nikephoros Chrysoberges (November 1203) and intended for delivery on 6 January 1204). In this oration Chrysoberges expresses the need to take a strong stand against the greedy Latins. See C. Brand, 'A Byzantine Plan for the Fourth Crusade', Speculum 43 (1968), 462-475, for a translation and commentary.

6,22-24. Isaac died a natural death early in 1204: Choniates, CSHB, 744, 14-16; ed. van Dieten, 562,63-66; Villehardouin, 223.

6,24-7,1. Isaac resorted to a practice which had most recently been used under Alexios III who plundered the imperial tombs in the church of the Holy Apostles in 1196-1197 in an effort to buy off Henry VI : Choniates, CSHB, 631-632; ed. van Dieten, 478-479. Choniates comments that Isaac's collection of holy treasures, taken from Hagia Sophia, was greater than previous ones: CSHB, 734, 17-19; 740, 19-21; ed. van Dieten, 555, 69-556, 70; 560, 86-88. On imperial confiscation of sacred objects see A. Glabinas, 'Ἡ ἐπὶ 'Αλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ περὶ 'Ιερῶν Σκευῶν, Κειμηλίων καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἔρετα (1081-1095), (Thessalonike, 1972), 54 ff.

7,2-3. When Alexios stopped payments entirely, the crusaders sent an embassy to protest: Robert of Clari, 59. Villehardouin, one of the delegates sent to Alexios, reports that the envoys were lucky to get away with their lives: 211-212.

7,3-6. Alexios Doukas Mourtzouphlos is said to have been a participant in the revolt of John Komnenos the Fat against Alexios III (1201). See the scribal note to Mesarites' account of the incident, ed. A. Heisenberg, Nikolaos Mesarites, Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos, Programm des K. alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907 (Würzburg, 1907), 24, note 1; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, MGH, 870, 20; Brand, Byzantium, 122-124; 347, note 14. He was imprisoned in 1201 or later and freed in 1203 by the restored Isaac II and Alexios IV who gave him the honorific title of protovestiarios: Choniates, CSHB, 745, 8; ed. van Dieten, 563, 79; Robert of Clari, 53. He became a trusted advisor to Alexios IV, using his influence to alienate Alexios from the crusaders by urging him to stop payments: Robert of Clari, 58. Mourtzouphlos killed Alexios in January 1204 and had himself proclaimed Emperor on 5 February 1204: Choniates, CSHB, 744-747; ed. van Dieten, 563-564; Villehardouin, 221-223; Chronicle of Novgorod, ed. Hopf, 95.

Alexios' ancestry is not known but a scribal note claims he was related (γambros) to Michael Palaiologos. See Heisenberg, Die Palastrevolution, 24, note 1. The name Mourtzouphlos, a nickname given to Alexios because of his bushy eyebrows (Choniates, CSHB, 742, 11-13; ed. van Dieten, 561, 23-25), later became a surname. See below 144, 6-9; Polemis, Douka, 145-146. His portrait in cod. Mutinensis gr. 122 actually depicts him with bushy eyebrows. For a discussion of the imperial portraits in this manuscript see now I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden, 1976), 172-180; pl. 119.

7, 7-9. The crusaders were enraged by Mourtzouphlos' usurpation. With Alexios IV dead, they felt no obligations; there was nothing to prevent them from attacking the city, for a man like Mourtzouphlos 'n'avoit droit en terre tenir': Villehardouin, 224-225; Chronicle of Novgorod, ed. Hopf, 96; Robert of Clari, 62.

7, 9-21. The departure from the city of the Latin residents, the Amalfitans and Pisans who lived along the Golden Horn (see below on 183, 7-12), was caused by an attack of the mob (ὁ χυδαῖον στῆφος) on the 'Latins living in the city and was not the outcome of a 'resolution' (βούλευμα) of the officials and leading men in the city. See Choniates, CSHB, 730, 5-734, 7; ed. van Dieten, 552, 77-555, 61; Villehardouin, 203-205; Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 89-90. This exodus of approximately 15,000 Latins took place in August 1203 : Villehardouin, 203, 205 and note 1, pp. 208-209. Akropolites' chronology is confused here, as below 7, 22. Skoutariotes is likewise wrong in placing this event after the fall of the city: ed. Sathas, 450, 10-19.

IV. 7, 22. Akropolites is wrong about the time that elapsed from the exodus episode to the conquest of the city; it was something like seven and a half months and not forty days. See above on 7, 9-21. Perhaps at the time of his writing people remembered the desertion of the Latins in the city as the decisive move which brought about the conquest of the city.

7, 22-24. The date is off by one year. Constantinople fell to the Latins on 12 April in the 6712th year (1204). See Choniates, CSHB, 752, 23-24; ed. van Dieten, 568, 88-89, and Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 446, 27-29, for the correct year. 1203 is given as the date of the conquest only in a 'short chronicle' consisting of three, thirteenth century entries in a tenth century Psalter: see P. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 19, 173. Akropolites' error is certainly very strange and demonstrates in yet another way that he did not use Choniates as a source.

7, 24 -8,1. The first attack on the city on 9 April was not successful: Choniates, CSHB, 752, 22-753, 14; ed. van Dieten, 568, 88-569, 7. Devastatio, ed. Hopf, 92; Chronicle of Novgorod, ed. Hopf, 97.

8,1-3. The crusaders anchored near Constantinople in June 1203 (6711th year). See above 5,28. The conquest and sack of the city took place ten months later.

8,4-5. Akropolites' information is quite precise. First a Venetian leapt onto the wall of a tower from a boarding ramp attached to the mast of a freighter. He was killed but a French knight, André d'Ureboise, was successful. See Choniates, CSHB, 753, 20-754, 6; ed. van Dieten, 569, 11-570, 20; Robert of Clari, 72-74; Villehardouin, 242-243. A group of mosaic pavements, dated 1213, and found in the church of St. John the Evangelist, Ravenna, depict the conquest of Constantinople: See R.O. Farioli, 'I Mosaici Pavimentale della chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna', Felix Ravenna 101 (1970), 169-222.

8,5-11. Choniates, on the contrary, feels it is very much to the point of his story to relate what happened in the city.: CSHB, 757-770; ed. van Dieten, 572-582. Nicholas Mesarites also gives a first-hand account of the sack in his funeral oration for his brother John: Heisenberg, Neue Quellen I, 46-48.

8,13-14. The words $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\eta$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\omega\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, as well as their synonyms $\eta \delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\eta \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta$ are used to signify Greek territory in mainland Greece and in Asia Minor. See also Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, col. 490; Blemmydes in Epistulae, ed. Festa, 329, 485.

The order which Akropolites ascribes to the conquests of the Latins, first in the west, then in the east, is confirmed by Villehardouin, according to whom all the land from Constantinople to Thessalonike was under Latin domination by the end of September 1204:272-302. In November the Latins turned their attention to the area 'd'autre part del Braz, devers la Turchie' (304 and ff.). Akropolites deals with the Latin conquests in greater detail below. See 11,21-12,3, and XIII.

8,15. According to Choniates the Greeks did not at first resist the Latins but greeted them with signs of the cross and words from the scriptures: CSHB, 796, 14-18; ed. van Dieten, 602, 1-3; Villehardouin, 269. But soon, Villehardouin reports, the Greeks began to hate the Latins because of the greedy and cruel manner in which they behaved towards them:303.

V. 8,17-21. Villehardouin (266) confirms that Alexios III was in Mosynopoulos and had control of a great deal of territory. Alexios had supporters in the aristocracy of Thrace: Choniates, CSHB, 808, 12-15; ed. van Dieten, 612,46-48. For Mosynoupolis (Messoune) see C. Asdracha, La Région, 104 ff. and below 39, 17-18.

8,21-25. Mourtzouphlos and Eudokia (see 9,5-11) were not married until after the conquest of Constantinople but Mourtzouphlos is said to have been in love with her long before: Choniates, CSHB, 755, 13-20; 804,2-9; ed. van Dieten, 571, 47-52; Villehardouin, 270.

8,25. Since Alexios III had no sons, his choice of sons-in-law was an important matter. On the competition for the Emperor's daughters see Choniates, CSHB, 660-662; ed. van Dieten, 497-499.

9,1-2. Eirene's first husband, Andronikos Kontostephanos died before 1197: Choniates, CSHB, 604,17-19; 641,3-5; 660,7-9; ed. van Dieten, 458,41-42; 485,6-8; 497,6-8; Brand, Byzantium, 119-120.

She married Alexios Palaiologos in the spring of 1199: Choniates, CSHB, 673-674; ed. van Dieten, 508. Their daughter, Theodora, was the mother of Michael Palaiologos. See V. Laurent, 'La Généalogie des Premiers Paléologues', B 8 (1933), 125-149. For Alexios' participation in the expedition against Ivanko in 1199 and in suppressing the revolt of John Komnenos the Fat (1201) see Choniates, CSHB, 677-678; 686; ed. van Dieten, 510-511; 519; A. Helsenberg, Die Palastrevolution, 42, 48. He died sometime between 1201 and 1203. See note on 9,2-3.

The seals of Alexios Palaiologos bear the title of Despot and his name appears with this title in the Mesarites account of the revolt of John Komnenos: see Zacos-Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals, no. 2752, pp. 1568-1569; Helsenberg, Die Palastrevolution, 48, 29-30. By giving Alexios this title, Alexios III was designating him as his successor to the throne. For the history of the title, first conferred on an imperial son-in-law in 1163 by Manuel I, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Urum-Despotes, Die Anfänge der Despoteswürde in Byzanz,' BZ 44 (1951), 448-460; B. Ferjančić, Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama (Belgrade, 1960), 32; .

9,2-3. When Alexios III fled from Constantinople he took Eirene with him, according to Choniates: CSHB, 723, 15-20; ed. van Dieten, 546,72-547,1. She must have been a widow by then (July 1203).

9,3-4. Anna, Alexios III'S 'second daughter in age but first in beauty' was first married to Isaac Komnenos, the sebastokrator who died in a prison in Trnovo in 1196, leaving her with a daughter Theodora: Choniates, CSHB, 613, 8; 620, 15-16; 660, 9-10; ed. van Dieten, 465, 31-32; 471,89; 497,8-9; Brand, Byzantium, 125-126.

Anna's marriage to Theodore Laskaris was celebrated in 1199 along with that of Eirene to Alexios Palaiologos. See 9, 1-2; Choniates, CSHB, 673-675; ed. van Dieten, 508-509.

Nothing is known about the family of Theodore Laskaris. He is called Komnenos on a seal where he has the title of protovestiarites (pre 1204) and in documents after 1204. See V. Laurent, 'Les Bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie Byzantine', 'Ελληνικά 5 (1932), 415, no. 403; N. Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 141. He must have held the title of protovestiarites until the death of Alexios Palaiologos when he would have received the title of Despot. See on 9,1-2.

9,5-8. According to Choniates, Isaac II married his niece Eudokia to Stephen II, son of Stephen Nemanja, the Great Zupan of Serbia in c. 1185-1187. For the date see Brand, Byzantium, 80, 335, note 14.

As a result of a quarrel, Stephen sent Eudokia away with scarcely any clothing: Choniates, CSHB, 703-705; ed. van Dieten, 530-532. Jireček (Geschichte der Serben I (Gotha, 1911), 274-275, 287) dates the divorce to 1201 or 1202 but this date should be revised to c. 1198-1199. See Brand, Byzantium, 346, note 9.

In 1217 Stephen II was crowned by a papal legate and received the title of Kral: Jireček, Geschichte der Serben, 296 ff. For this title see G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, II, 173.

9,8-9. Mourtzouphlos is said to have deserted two wives. His second wife was the daughter of a Philokales: Choniates, CSHB, 755,19-20; 749, 3-4; ed. van Dieten, 571,52-53; 565, 11-12; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 445, 15-16.

9,10-11. Mourtzouphlos was also accompanied by Euphrosyne, Alexios III's wife: Choniates, CSHB, 755, 16-18; ed. van Dieten, 571,49-51; Villehardouin, 266.

9, 16-20. Akropolites gives the fullest account of this scene. See also Choniates, CSHB, 804, 8-11; ed. van Dieten, 608, 57-58; Villehardouin, 271.

C, 1-3. According to Villehardouin (306) Mourtzouphlos was captured in Asia Minor by Thierry of Loos. This report is confirmed by Robert of Clari who says that Thierry found Mourtzouphlos when he 'was going to see his land' (trans. McNeal, 123) which was in Nicomedia: Villehardouin, 480. Mourtzouphlos was probably captured at the end of November 1204 since Thierry left Constantinople on St. Martin's Day, 11 November: Villehardouin, 310.

10, 3-6. The Latins considered him a traitor for having killed his 'lord', Alexios IV.: Choniates, CSHB, 804, 17; ed. van Dieten, 609, 64. They deliberated as to a suitable punishment for a man of his stature who had committed such a crime and decided upon death from a fall of a great height: 'For a high man, high justice' (Robert of Clari, trans. McNeal, 124). See also Villehardouin (307): 'si halte justise'.

10, 6-9. The column, erected in the fourth century by Theodosius the Great was in the Forum Tauri or Forum of Theodosius. See R. Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1964), 64. It is mentioned by Robert of Clari in his description of the marvels of Constantinople (89). Both Robert of Clari and Villehardouin (308) say that there were scenes sculpted on the marble which prophesied future events in Constantinople.

VI. 10, 10-14. The permission to leave Constantinople and the subsequent emigration probably took place in the first days after the conquest of the city. Choniates describes the mass exodus in which he and his family took part on 17 April, five days after the conquest: CSHB, 778-784; ed. van Dieten, 589-593. It is possible to infer from Choniates' account of his travels after April 1204 that movement in and out of the capital was fairly unrestricted, at least in the early years of the Latin occupation. Choniates returned to Constantinople in the spring of 1206 and left again after a stay of six months. See van Dieten II, 44-45; the History, ed. van Dieten, 635, critical apparatus, 95-97.

10,15. This passage is crucial for the chronology of Theodore Laskaris' reign. It has been assumed that Theodore left Constantinople after the fall of the capital. However, Akropolites explicitly states that Theodore left before the fall: προεξελθεῖν , πέφθακεν . The 'Short Chronicle of 1352' is even more explicit in stating this sequence of events: ὁ Λάσκαρις...πρὸ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν τοῦς Λατίνους τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπήγεν εἰς τὴν Νίκαιαν. See R.-J. Loenertz, 'La Chronique brève de 1352', OCF 29 (1963), 332; see now P. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, 74. Another possible indication that Theodore Laskaris was already in Nicaea before the fall of the capital is that Nicaea is not included in the Partitio and, therefore, may not have been under the control of the government in September 1203. For this argument see N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', 1-22.

10,16-17. The narrative above (9,4) does not, as Akropolites says, refer to Theodore's title of Despot. As this title was bestowed on the Emperor's son-in-law and marked him out as an heir to the throne (see note on 9,1-3), Alexios III probably bestowed this title on Theodore after the death of Alexios Palaiologos (1201-1203). A lead seal survives which bears Theodore's name with the title of Despot. See Zacos-Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals, I, 3, no. 2753, pp. 1570-1571.

10, 19-20. For their daughters see below XV. They had at least one son as well. See below on 31, 13-19.

10, 21-23. The reason for Theodore's choice of Nicaea (Iznik), on the eastern shore of lake Ascanius, is not clear. There may have been a family connection with the place. The donation of three manuscripts to the monastery of Christ Saviour τοῦ Κωφοῦ in Nicaea by Constantine Komnenos Laskaris, the brother of Theodore Laskaris, perhaps indicates this. See O. Volk, Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstan-

tinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Munich, 1954), 170-172; R. Janin, Les Eglises, 125.

Nicaea became Theodore's capital (Villehardouin, 455) and remained the seat of the patriarchate even after the Emperor John III moved his residence to Nymphaion. See below on 68,1, Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 7,2-11. An inscription on a tower at Nicaea attests to Theodore's building activities there. He is responsible for the second, outer wall which still stands in parts: A.M. Schneider, W. Karnapp, Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Berlin, 1938), 16 ff., 53. See now the description of Nicaea with drawings by John Covel, published by J. Raby, 'A Seventeenth Century Description of Iznik-Nicaea', Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 26 (1976), 149-188.

10,23. In an oration (1206) Choniates describes the difficulties Theodore had at first in trying to gain recognition in the towns of Asia Minor: Oration IΔ, van Dieten I, 131,12-132,6; van Dieten II, 152.

10,27. Prousa (Bursa), at the foot of Mt. Olympos, to the south-west of Nicaea, had impressive natural and man-made defenses: Choniates, CSHB, 797,5-10; ed. van Dieten, 602,12-613,14. An inscription on a tower at Prousa attests to Theodore's building activities there as Emperor: A. Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV, no. 8744, p.342.

10,28-11,1. It is not clear from the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ πενθέροϋ (10,28-11,1) whether Theodore intended to rule instead of his father-in-law, i.e. in his own name, or on his behalf, as a representative. Villehardouin (313) gives the impression that the latter was true: 'avoit la fille l'empereor a fame dont il clamoit la terre'. Another indication of this is the fact that Theodore ruled for two years as Despot, his title as Alexios III's son-in-law (see 11,5-6) and did not actually take the title of βασιλεύς until Alexios III had been stripped of imperial insignia and sent into exile by Boniface. On this see on 13,15-17.

11,2-4. This reference to an alliance with the Turkish Sultan is usually identified with the $\sigma\upsilon\mu\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\alpha$ (mentioned below, 14,20-23) between Kaikhusraw and Theodore. See Dölger, Regesten, no. 1670=Wirth, 1668b, p.2. However, the sources give evidence of more than one alliance with more than one Sultan. This passage indicates an early agreement, in Theodore's first two years in Asia Minor, 1203-1205. The Sultans in power at that time were Rukn al-Din (1197-1204) and his son Kilidj Arslan III (1204-1205). Ibn Bibi in fact claims that Theodore Laskaris made an alliance with Kilidj Arslan III (ed. Duda, 38). However, in this passage Akropolites calls the Sultan 'an acquaintance' (11,3) of Theodore's. This description applies to Kaikhusraw who had gone to Constantinople during Alexios III's reign. See C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 110-116; below on 14, 8-14 and 11,20-23. Akropolites may be confusing an early alliance Theodore made with Kilidj Arslan with a later one.

VII. 11,5-9. Theodore's proclamation as Emperor in 1205 (spring/summer) has been established by Sinogowitz who bases his arguments on an oration by Choniates. See B. Sinogowitz, 'Über das byzantinische Kaisertum', 348-351; Oration IA, van Dieten I, 129-147; van Dieten II, 146-154. Sinogowitz discounts Akropolites' report as untrustworthy in its chronology (op. cit., 350). However, his estimation of the value of Akropolites' account is based on the idea that Theodore Laskaris did not leave Constantinople until its conquest in 1204 and therefore, according to Akropolites was not proclaimed Emperor until two years later in 1206. As Theodore's departure from the capital can be dated to 1203 (see above note on 10,15), the date which Akropolites gives for Theodore's proclamation as Emperor is consistent with what is known from other sources. See now N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', 22-27. Besides, as Akropolites dates the fall of Constantinople to 1203 (see on 7,22-24), the date of 1205 for Theodore's proclamation is in keeping with Akropolites' own chronology. Therefore, Akropolites' account on this matter is reliable.

11,9-15. Choniates attests to the presence of the Patriarch John Kamateros (1198-1206) in Didymoteichon after the conquest of Constantinople: CSHB, 837,2-5; ed. van Dieten, 633,57-59. See A. Krantonelles, 'H Σύμπραξις, 61-65, for Kamateros' activities in Thrace. He remained there until his death in June 1206: Heisenberg, Neue Quellen, I, 52,19-53,2; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG, CXLVII, col. 464 D. For the Kamateroi, a family whose members occupied high office in state and church in the twelfth century see V. Laurent, 'Un Sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Kamateros', B 6(1931),253-272; G. Stadtmüller, 'Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros', BZ 34 (1934), 352-358; Angold, Byzantine Government, 70-71.

11,15-17. After Kamateros' death the Greek clergy of Constantinople wrote to Theodore Laskaris about appointing a new Patriarch. In response Theodore summoned them to come to Nicaea during the third week of Lent in order to witness and approve the election of a Patriarch: Heisenberg, Neue Quellen, II, 34-35. Michael Autoreianos was appointed Patriarch in March 1208. See V. Laurent, 'La Chronologie des Patriarches', 129-133. For the acts of his Patriarchate see Laurent, Regestes, 2 ff.; N. Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 113-145.

11,18-19. Akropolites gives the impression that Theodore was Despot up to the time of his coronation: τὸν δεσπότην Θεόδωρον...ταῖν τοῦ . In this passage he uses φημιζόμενος (1.9) and ἀναγορευθεῖς (1.19), words which usually describe the act of proclamation of an Emperor (see below 105,21; 159,15; 188,26), with respect to the coronation of the Emperor by the Patriarch. He says that the assembly met to discuss how Theodore should be 'proclaimed' Emperor but he then relates the election of the Patriarch and the coronation. This is perhaps an indication that Akropolites has run together two events, the proclamation (1205) and the coronation, three years later (1208). At the time of his writing the fact that the two events were separated by a few years may have been forgotten. For the date of Theodore's coronation

see Heisenberg, Neue Quellen I, 62; II, 25-32; A. Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογή, 'Αναγόρευσις καὶ Στέψις, 170-175.

11,10-21. Akropolites follows here a sequence of events found also in Choniates' History (CSHB, 828, 1-23; ed. van Dieten, 626, 53-75) and in an oration written by Choniates (van Dieten I, 134, 25-28): Theodore was proclaimed Emperor; he then proceeded to defeat his enemies. For the date of the oration, 1205-1206, see van Dieten II, 151; Sinogowitz, 'Über das byzantinische Kaisertum', 348-350.

11,21-12,4. An expedition led by two French knights left Constantinople on 1 November 1204 and arrived at the port of Pegai, in Asia Minor to begin a conquest of the lands which had been assigned to the Latins by the terms of the Partitio. Skoutariotes adds to Akropolites' account that the Latins were helped in these conquests by the Latins of Pegai and the Armenians: ed. Sathas, 452, 18-20; Additamenta, no. 2, p. 277. See Villehardouin, 305; Choniates, CSHB, 795, 14-23; ed. van Dieten, 601, 73-83; 'Partitio', ed. A. Carile, 217-218.

11,23. Akropolites is referring to the geographical areas which formally comprised the themes of Opsikion and Aigaion Pelagos. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 'De Thematibus', ed. A. Pertusi, Studi e Testi, 160 (1952), 68-69; 82-83. By the twelfth century they were one theme. See Alexios III's chrysobull of 1198:TT, I, 270. The theme comprised the area of north-west Asia Minor known as the Troad. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 245.

11,24. A battle was fought at Atramyttion, south of Mt. Ida, on 19 March 1205. The crusaders, led by Henry of Flanders, brother of the Emperor Baldwin, were victorious. Villehardouin (321-323) says that Constantine, Theodore Laskaris' brother, fought against Henry's men but Choniates (CSHB, 796, 1-9; 798, 5-10; ed. van Dieten, 602, 87-90; 603, 31-604, 1) and Ephraim (7265-7271) name Theodore Man-kaphas of Philadelphia as Henry's adversary. See note on 12, 10-11.

Baris and Aulonia. Choniates speaks of them as one and the

same place: πόλις...Βάρη καὶ Ἀβλωνία παρωνύμως ...

ὠνομασμένη: CSHB, 121,15; ed. van Dieten, 91,27-28. However, Ramsay distinguishes between them and situates them in the area west of Cyzicus (Historical Geography, 154).

Poimanenon. Theodore fought what was probably his first battle against the crusaders in Asia Minor at Poimanenon on 6 December 1204. He contended against Peter of Bracheux and lost. Lopadion (14,1) also fell to the Latins at this time. See Villehardouin, 319-320; Choniates, CSHB, 796, 9-15; ed. van Dieten, 602,91-95; Oration I Δ, van Dieten I, 132,7-8; van Dieten, II, 153,154; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 68.

12,1. Lentiana: a region and a town by the same name in the neighbourhood of Poimanenon (Ramsay, Historical Geography, 158). In this passage the region is meant, since Akropolites says Λεντιανὰ μέχρι τοῦ Λοπαδίου. But see below 28,17,20; 36,9, for the town. The sources do not mention a battle at or in Lentiana at this time. See, however, below on 28,17-18; 28,20.

Lopadion, on lake Artynia, is listed in the chrysobull of Alexios III (1198) as an episkopsis of the Opsikion theme: TT, I, 270; Ramsay, Historical Geography, 160; below 28,9.

12,2-3. Thynia is probably the shortened name for the theme of Mesothynia, mentioned in the chrysobull of Alexios III: TT, I, 269. Mesothynia is thought to be identical with the Optimates theme, whose capital was Nicomedia. See below on 135,22.

In 1207 Theodore Laskaris fought against the crusaders at Nicomedia led by Thierry of Loos. A two year truce was drawn up at the conclusion of the battle: Villehardouin, 480-487; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 98-99.

12,5-10. In this passage Akropolites makes a distinction between those who were already in situ as government officials (ἡγέμονες εἶναι τυχόντες) and men of high birth and/or title who established themselves in a particular place at the time of the conquest and took power into their hands (οἱ τῶν ἄλλων προύχοντες). Specific cases of independent rulers of the time bear out this distinction admirably. Akropolites names only some of these independent rulers in this passage, in each case using a different verb to express their control or rule. Examples of men who held some governmental commission and/or had local family interests are Leo Sgouros at Nauplion (see 13,19 ff.), Leo Gabalas in Rhodes (see 45,20-21), Theodore Mankaphas in Philadelphia (12,10-11), and Leo Chamaretos in the Peloponnese (Choniates, CSHB, 841,5-6; ed. van Dieten, 638, 42-48). See Hoffmann, Rudimente, 130-131. To the second group of men, the προύχοντες who took control of territory and ruled it in their own name, belong Michael Komnenos Doukas, Theodore Laskaris and David and Alexios Komnenos. Michael had been summoned to Epiros (see 13, 24 and ff.) while Theodore Laskaris and the Komnenoi had gone to Asia Minor of their own volition, it seems.

The word δεφένδευσιν (1.10) is a legal term, synonymous with ὑπερδουσις and is found rarely in literary texts. See Theophanes Antecessor, Institutionum Graeca Paraphrasis, ed. Z. von Lingenthal, I (Berlin, 1884), 240; Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, Rhetores Graeci, VII (Stuttgart, 1834), 1121, 23-27.

12,10-11. Theodore's surname, Mankaphas, is known from Choniates who also says that Theodore acquired the nickname Morotheodoros or 'Stupid Theodore' because of his failures or errors: CSHB, 522,11-12; ed. van Dieten, 399, 65-66. However, the word manka is old Ottoman for 'stupid'; therefore, the fact that Theodore was called (ἀπεχάλουν) Morotheodoros may show that contemporaries were aware of the Turkic meaning of his surname.

Mankaphas was a native of Philadelphia (present day Alasehir) where he seized power in 1188-1189, minting silver coins with his effigy. See Choniates, CSHB, 521,22-522,6; ed. van Dieten, 399,54-60; Oration ①, van Dieten I, 92,1 ff., van Dieten II, 121; Hendy, Coinage and Money, 149. His revolt was put down by 1193: Hoffman, Rudimente, 67; Choniates, CSHB, 522-524; ed. van Dieten, 399-401. His presence in Philadelphia again, after 1204, is attested by this passage in Akropolites. However, it is quite possible that he had assumed power there for the second time before 1204 since Philadelphia is missing from the Partitio. On this see N. Oikonomides, 'La Partitio', 20. He was finally defeated by Theodore Laskaris in 1205. In March of that year Mankaphas fought against Henry of Flanders at Atramyttion, presumably in alliance with Constantine Laskaris, Theodore's brother. See above on 11,24; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 68-69.

The Mankaphas family continued to be important in the Philadelphia area. The will (1247) of the monk Maximos, ktitor of the monastery of the Theotokos in Philadelphia refers to considerable donations made by the nun Athanasia Mankaphaina and her husband. See S. Eustratiades, 'Ελληνικά 3 (1930), 328,16-24; 335,26-28; 337,40. See also MM, VI, 151-152; for further evidence of the family's property.

12,11-13. Sabbas has been identified with the Sabbas Asidenos addressed in a prostaxis (1214) of the Emperor Theodore I as συμπέμβερος and sebastokrator: N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, REB 26 (1968), 14-15; P. Orgels, 'Sabas Asidenos, Dynaste de Sampson', B 10 (1935), 67-80. On the basis of this document it would appear that the Emperor Theodore and Sabbas found a modus vivendi by which Sabbas was allowed to maintain a relatively powerful position in the episkepsis of Sampson (ancient Priene, near Miletos), all the while related to the Emperor through marriage. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 61; Hoffmann, Rudimente, 64-65. The date from which Sabbas was established as an independent ruler at

Sampson is not known but it is likely to have been from 1204 and not before. This claim is based on the fact that Sampson appears in the Partitio and was probably therefore still in government control in 1203. See N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', passim.; A. Carile, 'Partitio', 218,23.

For the identification of Sampson with ancient Priene and not Amisos on the Black Sea see G. de Jerphanion, 'Σάμψων et 'Αμισός - Une ville à déplacer de neuf cent kilomètres', OCP 1 (1935), 257-267.

12,13-17. The Komnenos brothers took Trebizond before the fall of Constantinople in April 1204 with the military aid of their first cousin, Tamar, Queen of Georgia. See the Chronicle of Michael Panaretos, ed. O. Lampsides, 'Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου' 22 (1958), 61,1-5; C. Toumanoff, 'On the relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Tamar', Speculum 15 (1940), 299-312; M. Kuršankis, 'Autour des sources géorgiennes de la fondation de l'empire de Trebizonde', 'Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου' 21 (1968), 107-116. The political status of Trebizond before the arrival of the Komnenoi is not known. It is not listed in the Partitio nor in the chrysobull of 1198. See N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', 19-20; Hoffmann, Rudimente, 72-76.

David and Alexios constituted a threat to Theodore Laskaris until 1211-1212. See note on 18,1-4 and N. Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 123, 29-36. They had control of the Black Sea littoral from Trebizond to Pontic Herakleia in the region of Paphlagonia: Choniates, CSHB, 842,15-18; ed. van Dieten, 639,71-73. In 1205-1206 Theodore checked David's westward advance to Nicomedia, making Pontic Herakleia his westernmost limit: Choniates, CSHB, 828,4-19; 844,8-845,3; ed. van Dieten, 626,57-71; 640, 13-30; Oration II, van Dieten I, 127,13-15; IA, 130,1-2; 135,32 ff.; 144,18-22; van Dieten II, 143; 154-155. In general see A.A. Vasiliev, 'The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1222)', Speculum 11 (1936),

3-37.

That Alexios had the epithet of Megas Komnenos is confirmed by Panaretos, writing in the fourteenth century (ed. Lampsides, 'Αρχεῖον Πόντου 22 (1958), 61,1). But numismatic evidence shows that the coins of John II (1280-1297) were the first to bear this epithet. See O. Retowski, Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt, Numismatischeskii Sbornik 1 (1911), 243. As Akropolites knew this ruler personally (Pachymeres, I, 519,12-521,12 : 1281), it might appear that his application of the epithet to Alexios is anachronistic. However, a Vatopedi Psalter (11th century) contains a note on the date of David's death which refers to him as Megas Komnenos: S. Eustratiades, Arkadios of Vatopedi, 'Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ Βατοπεδίου Ἀποκειμένων Κώδικων (Cambridge, Paris, 1924), 149, f. 294 a. If this note is contemporary, and there is nothing about its appearance to indicate the contrary, it demonstrates that the epithet was in use during the lifetime of the brothers and, therefore, Akropolites is not giving anachronistic information. For the significance of the epithet see D. Polemis, 'A Note on the origin of the title ' ΜΕΓΑΣ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΣ', Neo-Hellenika 1 (1970), 18-22. 12,17-21. Theodore's victories over his enemies are dated to 1205. See Sinogowitz, 'Über das byzantinische Kaisertum', 355 and note 5; van Dieten II, 151-152. See above on

For Kelbianon (1.20), the region of the Kaistros river valley in the Thrakesion theme see Kinnamos (39,10-14), Choniates (CSHB, 481,4-7; ed. van Dieten, 368,33) and below 28,6; Angold, Byzantine Government, 247, note 34. Neokastra (1.21) refers to the area between the Hermos and Kairkos rivers. Its name derives from the fortresses restored by the Emperor Manuel at Chliara, Pergamum and Atramyttion which were called Neokastra: Choniates, CSHB, 194, 22-195,21; ed. van Dieten, 150,35-54. However, in the thirteenth century the theme of Neokastra did not include Chliara and Pergamum. On this see note on 28,3-5. Philadelphia (11.20-21) had been under Mankaphas (see on 12,10-11), while the Maiander was under the control

of Manuel Maurozomes (not mentioned by Akropolites) until 1205: Choniates, CSHB, 827,16-21; ed. van Dieten, 626, 47-52; Oration I Δ van Dieten I, 137, 4; Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 37-38.

VIII. 13,1-3. Margaret (renamed Maria in Constantinople), daughter of King Bela III of Hungary and sister of Emeric, became the Emperor Isaac's second wife in 1186 when she was barely ten years old: see above on 5,6-8. For their wedding see on 18, 6-10.

13,5-6. Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut joined the crusade in 1200 together with his brother Henry (see on 5,12-18). He and Boniface of Montferrat, the leader of the Crusader armies, were the only candidates for the throne. Baldwin was elected Emperor (9 May 1204) by six Venetian and six crusader electors: Choniates, CSHB, 788-790; ed. van Dieten, 595-596; Robert of Clari, 92. The coronation took place on 16 May 1204: Villehardouin, 261, 263; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 149-152.

13,7-10. This is Akropolites' first mention of Enrico Dandolo, the blind Doge of Venice. See below also on 21,19-20. His statement that the Doge received his share 'of the whole which the Franks acquired' indicates either his ignorance of the role of the Venetians in the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Constantinople or his intentional disregard for the facts. Akropolites would have used the word Ἰταλός, his name for westerners in general, if he had meant to include the Venetians: see above 5, 12-15. For Dandolo's role in the crusade and in the organization of the new Latin Empire see Villehardouin, 15,65,172-175,259-260.

Akropolites and Skoutariotes claim that Dandolo was given the title of Despot -- Skoutariotes adds that Baldwin bestowed it on him (ed. Sathas, 453,18-19) -- and that this title accompanied the right to possess 'a quarter and a half of a quarter' of the territory which the Latins had acquired. The Doge's title reflected Venetian territorial holdings in the Empire, as established in a pact of March 1204: TT,I,447; Villehardouin, 234. Dandolo's name does not appear with this title

in any document during his lifetime. However, the Latin copy of a chrysobull (1219) issued by the Emperor Theodore Laskaris refers to the Podestà, Jacopo Tiepolo, as Despote Imperii Romanie et quarte partis et dimidie: TT, II, 205-206; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1703.

Furthermore, there are cases of earlier Podestà holding the title dominator quartae partis et dimidie Imperii Romanie (Marino Zeno:1205): TT, I, 559, 567, 570, 571. However, Podestà held these titles as subordinates of the Doge. On this subject see V. Lazzarini, 'I titoli dei Dogi di Venezia', 294-297; R. L. Wolff, 'The Oath of the Venetian Podestà', 544-551. It is possible, therefore, that Dandolo held this composite title during his lifetime and that it became apparent only in the titulature of subsequent Doges and Podestà. See B. Ferjančić, Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslavenskim zemljama, 33; Wolff, 'The Oath of the Venetian Podestà', 543, and note 4; 560.

13, 11-14. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, was leader of the crusading forces: Villehardouin, 43-44. As the unsuccessful candidate for the imperial throne he was entitled to the part of Asia Minor which was under Byzantine control but he requested Thessalonike in exchange for this territory (Villehardouin, 258, 264). An argument arose between Boniface and Baldwin over Thessalonike which was finally resolved with the Doge's intervention. Boniface received Thessalonike in September 1204: Villehardouin, 276-281; 299; Carile, 'Partitio', 140-158.

Although Akropolites says that Boniface was made King of Thessalonike, his name does not appear with this title in official documents. He is called King only in the narrative sources. See Robert of Clari, 107; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 76. However, Boniface's son Demetrios by Maria of Hungary was crowned King in Thessalonike in 1209, after Boniface's death, by the Latin Emperor Henry: Henry of Valenciennes, 605; Ernoul, 391; Robert of Clari, 109. For this reason it has been thought that the title was ascribed anachronistically to Boniface by Akropolites and Robert of Clari: see B. Ferjančić, 'Počeci Solunskje Kraljevine (1204-1209)', Zbornik Radova 8 (1964), 106. But there is good reason to

believe that Akropolites' information with respect to the title is accurate. The practice of calling Thessalonike a 'kingdom' appears in the Latin sources before 1204, from the time of the marriage of Renier, Boniface's brother, to a daughter of the Emperor Manuel. The western sources which relate the event say that Renier was crowned and given Thessalonike. See Robert of Torigny, writing before 1204: fecit coronari Rainerium...et dedi ei honorem Thesolonicensium (MGH, VI, 528); also, Sicard of Cremona, Chronica, MGH, XXXI, 173. It was from that time that Thessalonike was considered a kingdom and the man who held it a King. In all probability, then, Boniface was King of Thessalonike.

13,14-14,7. The following is an account of Alexios III's travels, continued from above §V. The sources -- Choniates, Villehardouin and Akropolites -- are not in agreement on the subject. Choniates' version of events should be preferred because he was living in Thrace until the spring of 1206 and therefore was closer to the events. See on 10,10-14. Attempts at a restoration of the sequence of events have been made by R.-J. Loenertz, 'Aux Origines', 370-376, and G. Prinzing, Bedeutung, 1-11.

13,15-17. Since Akropolites says that Alexios was 'caught plotting' in Thessalonike this may be a reference to the rebellion in Thessalonike (spring 1205) known from Choniates. Alexios was stripped of his imperial insignia and sent into exile as a result of his part in the uprising: CSHB, 818,1-819,6; ed. van Dieten, 619,44-620,67; Villehardouin, 389.

13,18-22. Leo Sgouros was originally from Nauplion where his father held a post in the government and/or owned property; see Choniates, CSHB, 800,2-5; 841,3-4; ed. van Dieten, 605,65-67; 638,41. His rebellion from the imperial government dates from 1201 when he seized Corinth and Argos. See Michael Choniates, ed. S. Lampros, II, 169-170; N. Oikonomides, 'La Partitio', 17-18; Hoffmann, Rudimente, 56-60. His marriage to Eudokia took place at Larissa (autumn 1204), according to Choniates: CSHB, 803,22-804,2; ed. van Dieten, 608,45-57. Skoutariotes adds the additional information that Sgouros was named Despot by Alexios

III at the time of the wedding (ed. Sathas, 453,28). As Theodore Laskaris had already been given this title by Alexios, his bestowal of the title on Sgouros may be an indication that he had disowned Theodore as a son-in-law.

13,22-23. This may be a reference to Boniface's siege of Corinth in the winter of 1205. See Villehardouin, 324, 331; Choniates, CSHB, 807,12-23; ed. van Dieten, 611,26-35.

13,23-24. An allusion to Alexios' exile? A variant reading of Choniates' History provides the information that Alexios was taken to Lombardy (ed. van Dieten, 612,41-45). Villehardouin (309) reports that he was sent to Montferrat.

13,24-25. Michael Komnenos Doukas was the illegitimate son of the sebastokrator John Doukas, whose parents Constantine Angelos and Theodora Komnene (daughter of Alexios I) were the founders of the Angelos dynasty: Polemis, Doukai, nos. 40, 45; L. Stiernon, 'Constantin Ange (Pan) sebastohypertate', REB 19 (1961), 273-283; idem, 'Les Origines du Despotat d'Epire', REB 17 (1957), 113-120; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Aux Origines', 360-363. The fathers of Alexios III and Michael were brothers, thus making Alexios and Michael first cousins: Choniates, CSHB, 604,19-20; ed. van Dieten, 458, 43.

14, 1-4. Sources for Michael's establishment in Epiros are extremely few. According to Villehardouin (301) Michael was a member of Boniface's party in the autumn of 1204 before he went to Arta, married the daughter of a local magnate, and took control of the territory. The thirteenth century 'Life of St. Theodora of Arta' written by the monk Job, also claims that he went to Arta in answer to the summons of the governor of Nikopolis, Sennacherim. See the 'Life', ed. A. Moustoxides, 'Ελληνομνημων 1 (1843), 42-43; also, PG, CXXVII, col. 904. Neither Sennacherim's identity nor his relationship to Michael are known from any other source. See Stiernon, 'Aux

Origines', 364-368; 377, for a discussion of the value of the sources.

Michael's authority extended over the part of north-western Greece known as 'Old Epiros', including Ioannina, Arta, and as far as Naupaktos in the south. For 'Old Epiros' see Hierokles, Synekdēmos, ed. E. Honigmann, 19; Procopius, de aedificiis, ed. J. Haury, III, 1 (Leipzig, 1913), 107, 38. Michael held these places by agreement (1210) with the Venetians: TT, II, 119-123; Nicol, Despotate, 15-16; 30-31.

14,4-7. The 'Life of St. Theodora' also states that Michael ransomed Alexios (ed. Moustoxydes, 43). Alexios must have returned to Greece by 1210, the terminus ante quem furnished by the anonymous source of Gaeta: ed. Riant, Exuviae, I, 153.

14,8-14. Iathatines ('Ιαθατίνης) is the Greek transliteration of the Islamic honorific Ghiyath al-Din (aid of the faith). Akropolites and Gregoras (I, 17, 10) use this form of the name to refer to the Sultan while Choniates calls this son of Kilidj Arslan II (1152-1192) Kaikh^usraw, a Turkish form of the Persian name which was popular among the Seljuks. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 112-113; Encyclopaedia of Islam II (1927), 638.

Kaikh^usraw (1192-1196; 1205-1210/11) had been forced into exile by his brother Rukn al-Din when the latter seized power in 1196/7. See Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 21-31; Choniates, CSHB, 688, 20-690,3; ed. van Dieten, 519-521. He went to Constantinople, probably early in 1200. For this date see Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 21-22; van Dieten II, 102. The sources do not agree on the kind of reception he received from Alexios III. According to Choniates, he did not get any help from the Emperor (CSHB, 690, 9-19; ed. van Dieten, 521,1-522,9). Akropolites alone mentions Kaikh^usraw's baptism.

Akropolites mistakenly calls Kaikh^usraw's brother Azatines ('Αζατίνης), Greek transliteration for Izz al-Din. See Moravcsik,

Byzantinoturcica, II, 57. Heisenberg repeats the error in the

'Index Nominum' to his edition of the History (p. 340). Izz al-Din Kilidj Arslan III is, in fact, Kaikhusraw's nephew, the son of Kaikhusraw's brother Rukn al-Din. He ruled for a short time (1204) before Kaikhusraw's return to power. See C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 115.

14, 15-20. Akropolites is the only source to say that Kaikhusraw left Constantinople with Alexios in the summer of 1203. See P. Wittek, 'Von der Byzantinischen zur Türkischen Toponymie', B 10 (1935), 23-24, for the Islamic sources. Ibn Bibi corroborates Akropolites' account that Kaikhusraw was summoned back from exile upon the death of his brother (ed. Duda, 34-39). He returned to Iconium in 1205 and ruled until his death in 1210/11. See C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 110-116.

14, 20-23. The treaty Akropolites refers to here is thought to be the same as that mentioned in an oration by Choniates: IA, van Dieten I, 137, 18-20; van Dieten II, 155; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1670. By the terms of this treaty Theodore Laskaris ceded Chonia and Laodikeia to Kaikhusraw's father-in-law, Manuel Maurozomes: Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 38; Wittek, B 10 (1935), 23-26. See now P. Wirth, Regesten, no. 1668b, p. 2, who redates the treaty to the spring of 1205, from early 1206. However, the sources do not mention the aid which Akropolites claims Theodore Laskaris received as a result of the treaty. See also above on 11, 2-4.

IX. 15, 1-2. Constantine, brother of Michael Komnenos Doukas, is said to have accompanied Alexios to Asia Minor. See the letter of John Apokaukos, Metropolitan of Naupaktos, to Demetrios Chomatenos, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Συμβολή εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀφρόδου, Sbornik Statei Posviashchennyk V.N. Lamanskomu, I (St. Petersburg, 1907), 243, 17-19, see also Nicol, Despotate, 54.

15, 3. The coastal city of Attaleia (Antalya), named after Attalos II, was in the control of Aldebrandinos, a Byzantine of Italian ancestry, in 1204. See Choniates, CSHB, 842, 18-20; ed. van Dieten, 639, 73-75. The Sultan Kaikhusraw finally conquered it in March 1207: Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 44-46; Choniates, CSHB, 843, 19-844, 8; ed. van Dieten, 639, 1-640, 12; Hoff-

mann, Rudimente, 69-77.

15,3-4. The sources give no indication of the date of Alexios' arrival at Iconium, the Sultan's capital. A terminus ante quem is supplied by the battle of Antioch, 1210/1211. See § X.

15,7-11. Theodore Laskaris had concluded a treaty with Kaikh^usraw in 1205 (see above 14,20-23). However, by 1208 he had written to Pope Innocent III asking for a permanent alliance with the Latin Empire in Constantinople to fight the Muslims: PL, CCXV, cols. 1372 C-1375 A. The following year Kaikh^usraw made an agreement with Henry, the Latin Emperor in Constantinople: Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 414, 83; Longnon, L' Empire latin, 124, 126. Kaikh^usraw and Theodore Laskaris must have been wary of each other for some time. It is possible, too, that Alexios was with Kaikh^usraw in Asia Minor as early as 1208.

15,13-16. Ibn Bibi says that Theodore sent letters to all his people asking for their help: ed. Duda, 48; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1681. For points of similarity between Akropolites' account and Ibn Bibi's (+1283) see below on 15, 19-20; 16,24-17,5; 17,1-9; 17,10-11.

15,19-23. Of all the sources which report the battle only Akropolites and Ibn Bibi mention Philadelphia. Ibn Bibi's account in fact gives the impression that the battle was fought there (ed. Duda, 48: Alasehir). For Philadelphia's importance see below, 105, 22-26.

15,24. The ἐλέπωλις (1.24), supposedly invented by Demetrios Poliorketes and used in the siege of Thebes (291 BC), was a tower on wheels. For an example see cod. Vat. gr. 1164, f. 98 r (11th century). See also A. Dain, 'Les Strategistes byzantins', Travaux et Mémoires 2 (1967), 333, 386.

15,28-16,3. Akropolites' language here is very similar to Choniates' in his oration celebrating Theodore's victory over the Sultan: 'these victories are yours by the sign of the cross...which you enjoined your soldiers to wear as an ensign (σύσσημον)': Oration I 4, van Dieten I, 175,4-5.

Although Akropolites does not say so directly, it is quite possible that Theodore Laskaris' soldiers wore the sign of the cross with the initials

IC XC on their armour.

Here, as below (17,6-7; 17,7-9; 17,10-11), the similarity of Akropolites' and Choniates' expressions is striking but does not necessarily demonstrate Akropolites' dependence on Choniates' oration. See note on § X for a possible explanation of the similarities.

16,6-8. The large number of Latin soldiers in Theodore I's employ was remarked on by Pope Innocent III and the Latin Emperor Henry who found it an annoyance and a source of worry; see PL, CCXVI, cols. 353D-354D; Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 414,86-88. It seems that Theodore was able to pay these Latin deserters better wages than the Latin Emperor could give them; see the Pope's letter, PL, CCXVI, 354 A. The Patriarch Michael Autoreianos makes a reference to Theodore I's generosity in his letter to Theodore's soldiers; see N. Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 118,47-48; V. Laurent, Regestes, no. 1205. See also below on 32,3-5.

X. That Akropolites devotes a great deal of space to the hostilities between the Sultan Kaikh~~u~~sr~~u~~aw and the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (something which is unusual for this, the earlier part of his narrative), is a reflection of the significance of the event in Theodore's time and long afterward. It was recorded and remembered as Theodore's most decisive victory: Choniates, Oration I ζ, van Dieten, I, 174,30-175,1. The story of the battle must have become legendary. This may explain how certain details which Akropolites reports are to be found in Choniates' oration and Ibn Bibi's account. However, another possible explanation for the similarities in accounts could be that they all had the same source, namely, letters sent out by the Emperor announcing his victory and giving details of the battle. The Emperor Theodore is known to have sent such letters to lands populated by Greeks; see notes on 17,16 and 79,1-7; also see the Introduction, p.52 , note 3.

16,11. Akropolites uses Πέρσαι of the Seljuk Turks throughout, with two exceptions, 148,10; 170,24. These appear to be nothing more than slips of the pen. On the subject of the use of archaizing names by Byzantine authors see especially, H. Hunger, 'On the Imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of antiquity in Byzantine Literature', DOP 23/24 (1969-1970), 21; G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, II, 13 ff.

16,15-16. The date of the battle is in dispute but 1210/1211 is now generally accepted; see van Dieten, II, 162, for a discussion; Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 427-429.

16,25-17,5. See also Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 49; Gregoras I, 20,13-19, who report this incident.

17,6-7. Choniates, Oration Iζ, van Dieten, I, 173, 28-32: 'Christ took you up as if on his back...and gave you sure footing'. See also Gregoras (I,20,19-21,3) and Ephraim (7608-7613).

17,7-9. Choniates remarks on the Sultan's insolence, calling him a boaster (κομπῶντας τὰ ὑπερβυχα) and saying that when Theodore was unhorsed, the Sultan thought he had won the day and 'had almost begun to celebrate the victory': Oration Iζ, van Dieten, I, 171,17-19; 173,22-24.

17,9. Choniates, Oration Iζ, van Dieten, I, 172,7-8: πλήττων ἐς κνήμας ἔκρου . See also the 'Life' of the Emperor John Batatzes, ed. Heisenberg, 216,31.

17,10-11. The size of the Emperor's horse is likewise commented on by Ibn Bibi, (ed. Duda, 49) and Choniates (Oration Iζ, van Dieten I,174,10-11.

17,11-13. Choniates gives the Emperor Theodore credit for decapitating the Sultan: Oration Iζ, van Dieten, I, 171, 17-18. Akropolites leaves the question open.

17,16. The victory over the Turks was used as an instrument to increase the faith of the Greeks in Theodore's ability to recover Constantinople. Soon after the battle Theodore sent letters to all the lands populated by Greeks telling them of the victory and asking for their help in freeing all of Greece from the Latins. The Latin Emperor Henry is the source for

the contents of Theodore's letter : Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 414, 90-415, 94; see note below on 79,1-7.

17,17-19. Kaika'us (Izz al-Din) (1210/11-1220), Kaikhusraw's son and successor, made the truce with Theodore soon after the battle: Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 57-58; Abou'l-Feâa, 86; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1682= Wirth Regesten, pp. 5-6.

17, 20-23. Skoutariotes differs from Akropolites in saying that the senate and the army sentenced Alexios to blinding: Additamenta, no. 6, p. 278; ed. Sathas, 457, 3-7. Choniates makes no mention of Alexios in his oration.

A synodal act of 1209 states that the monastery of Hyakinthos in Nicaea was the seat of the Patriarchate: K. Chatzepsaltes, Κυρία καὶ Σπουδαί 28 (1964), 141-142. The church of the Koimesis was the katholikon of the monastery, as has been discovered from monograms in the church bearing the founder's name, the abbot Hyakinthos. See Janin, Les Eglises et les Monasteres, 121-124. The monastery was also the burial place of Theodore and his wife Anna (below 32, 8-11).

17,24-25. Alexios III's wife, Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamater, was an outspoken woman who played a considerable role in her husband's reign: Choniates, CSHB, 600-601; 606-607; 687-688; ed. van Dieten, 455-456; 460-461; 519-520. She owned a great deal of property in Thessaly. See the Partitio, ed. Carile, 221,111: Pertinentia imperatricis, scilicet Vessena, Fersala, Dorocos. See Polemis, Doukai, 131..

XI. 18,1-4. For David Komnenos see above 12,13-14. The campaign in which Theodore gained Herakleia and Amastris on the Black Sea coast could have taken place any time between 1211, the date of Theodore's defeat of the Sultan, and 1214. Nicholas Mesarites' account (1214) makes it clear that the above named cities were in Theodore's control by that date. See Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 25-26; 33. However, since, according to a manuscript note, David died in 1212, 1212 must be the terminus ante quem for these conquests. See S. Eustratiades, Arcadios of

Vatopedi, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi (Cambridge-Paris, 1924), 149. An inscription on a tower erected by Theodore at Pontic Herakleia commemorates his victory: A Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum IV (Berlin, 1876), no. 8748.

18,6-10. Isaac's second marriage to Margaret-Maria of Hungary took place in 1186: Choniates, CSHB, 481, 18-21; ed. van Dieten, 368, 43-46. See van Dieten II, 88-90, for this date; G. Moravcsik, 'Pour une alliance Byzantino-Hongroise', B 8 (1933), 555-568.

18,10-15. Choniates also says that the Emperor took livestock for his wedding: CSHB, 481,21-22; 482,9-10; ed. van Dieten, 368, 47.-56. However, Akropolites speaks of the lands of the Bulgarians only, whereas Choniates specifies that the 'barbarians' Isaac alienated were Vlachs: CSHB, 482, 4-5; ed. van Dieten, 368, 50-52. The Vlachs, a nomadic people who spoke a Latin dialect closely allied to modern Rumanian, are known to have played a major role in the formation of the Second Bulgarian Empire. On this see R .L. Wolff, 'Second Bulgarian Empire', 174 ff.; B. Primov, 'Crearea celui de-al doilea tarat bulgar si participarea Vlahilor', Relatii romano-bulgare de-a lungul veacurilor XII-XIX 1 (1971), 5-56; French resume and review in BZ 66 (1973), 477-478.

18, 15-20. The Bulgars, in origin a Hunnic tribe, began to settle in the Balkan peninsula from the seventh century. After a series of wars Basil II (976-1025) brought about their subjugation to the Byzantine Empire in 1018. He earned the epithet 'Bulgarslayer' (see below on 23,16-19) in his successful campaigns against them. See Skylitzes, CSHB, 457, 9-458,22; ed. Thurn, 348,9-349,44, for the last and most memorable of his expeditions. For the history of early Byzantine-Bulgarian relations see V. Zlatarski, Istoria I (Sofia, 1918); S. Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire (London, 1930).

18,20-25. Although Choniates' account agrees with Akropolites' as to the 'excuse' for the revolt, he adds more information about the brothers Peter and Asen, the master-minds of the movement:

CSHB, 482,11-483,6; 485,3-486,10; ed. van Dieten, 369, 58-69; 371, 15-36. For the date of the revolt (1186) see the discussion by Brand, Byzantium, 273-274; van-Dieten, II, 70. - .

Akropolites mentions only Asen here and throughout stresses his leading role but Choniates in his History and in orations speaks of Peter as the more prominent of the two brothers. For instance see Oration B where only Peter is mentioned: van Dieten I, 7,27-28. In fact, it was Peter, not Asen, who first had himself crowned Emperor: Choniates, CSHB, 486,16-18; ed. van Dieten, 372, 41-43. However, Choniates does say of Asen that he was the ruder and bolder brother: CSHB, 482, 22; ed. van Dieten, 369, 67. See below on 20,20-23, for the territorial extent of their power.

18,26-19,1. By Σκίθαι Akropolites means Cumans, a nomadic central Asian people with a Turkish tongue who lived for the most part north of the Danube: Gregoras I, 15, 1-2. On the custom of Byzantine authors to call peoples by the names of the inhabitants of their territories in classical times see G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 279-283. For a description of the Cumans and their way of living see Robert of Clari, 46; Wolff, 'Second Bulgarian Empire', 198-200. These skilful fighters were employed by the Vlach-Bulgarians from 1186 onward: Choniates, CSHB, 488,14-15; ed. van Dieten, 373, 58-59; Oration B, van Dieten I, 7, 30, 8; Villehardouin, 352.

19,2-3. After three initial campaigns against the Vlach-Bulgars in 1186 Isaac personally led an expedition in 1187 and 1188: Choniates, CSHB, 489-491; ed. van Dieten, 374-377; Oration B, van Dieten I, 6-12; van Dieten II, 65-79.

19,3-20. The expedition described here took place in 1190. See van Dieten, II, 62-64, for the date. It is evident from this account that Akropolites had a source other than Choniates. The authors differ in details (e.g., the Emperor entered enemy territory from Anchialos, not Mesembria, according to Choniates); but, in addition, Akropolites, born almost thirty years after the event, supplies information which one would expect to have been given by Choniates, a contemporary of the events. The basic difference in the accounts is in the description of booty taken from the Emperor. For this see below on 19, 23-20,7.

19,5-9. Only Akropolites mentions a siege at 'Strinovo'. Strinovo is thought to be the equivalent of Trnovo since the variant reading in the apparatus to the text supplies this word. See p. 19, note 7 of the apparatus; Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera I, xviii, note 2; Zlatarski, Istoriia, III, 67, note 2. In any event, Choniates' account does not rule out the possibility of a siege at Trnovo which was the capital of the Bulgarian Empire. See below 33,8.

19,9-13. Choniates also claims that the Emperor made a quick retreat when he heard rumours of a Cuman attack: CSHB, 561,18-562,2; ed. van Dieten, 429,72-74.

19,13-20. The narrow pass in which the attack took place was, according to Choniates, a defile leading to Beroe (Stara Zagora): CSHB, 562,18-19; ed. van Dieten, 429, 89-90. It has been identified as the Sipka pass, between Gabrovo and Kazanlık in the Stara Planina: P. Nikov, 'Die Stadt und das Gebiet von Krn-Krounos', Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 5 (1936), 231-232.

19, 22-23. For the variety and large number of objects generally taken on campaign see Constantine Porphyrogenetos' list (de cerimoniis, 465-468); Choniates, Oration B, van Dieten I, 10,5-6: σκηνή βασιλείας... κλίνη χρυσόπαστος... σκίμπους βασιλικός... πέπλοι χρυσουφείς.

19,23-20,7. Choniates (CSEB, 563, 21-564,1; ed. van Dieten, 430,16-18) merely alludes to the plunder while Akropolites gives a full catalogue. Akropolites' source for these details would seem to have been himself. He probably saw the objects when he visited the Bulgarian court at Trnovo in 1260/1, as an ambassador of the Emperor Michael Palaiologos, see 175,26-176,10. He was at the Bulgarian court on Epiphany day when, according to Skoutariotes the Bulgarians display the booty they gained from the Emperor Isaac (ed. Sathas, 547, 29-548,1). Since Akropolites states that he witnessed the festivities for Epiphany, it is very likely that he saw the objects he describes in this passage. Therefore, they were still with the Bulgarians seventy years after the campaign. More is known about their later history. When John Asen III (1279-1280) fled from Trnovo in 1280 and sought refuge in Constantinople, he took with him τὰ...τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Βουλγάρων πράγματα, ἃ...εἶχον ἐκ Ῥωμαίων λαβόντες ἡττημένων τὸ πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰσαακίου : Pachymeres I, 448, 14-449,1. It was nearly one hundred years after they were taken that they returned in this way to Constantinople.

19,23-24. The Emperor's 'pyramids': The identification of these objects is made easier by another passage in Akropolites (below, 67,17-18) where the pyramis is said to be covered with pearls and to have a red gem at its summit. But Skoutariotes further aids the process of identification by substituting the word kalyptra (ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ) for pyramis (ed. Sathas, 404,23). From this one can infer that pyramis refers to something worn on the head. The question remains, however, why Akropolites uses pyramis of a head-piece, an unattested usage, when in other passages he uses kalyptra and diadema to describe the imperial crown: see 34,2; 159, 18; 185, 27; 187,17. Is he merely using a more striking word to describe the imperial crown as it is known from representations (hemispherical in shape, with a string of jewels hanging from either side) or does he use the word to describe a different head-piece

which is in fact pyramidal in shape? There is both literary and visual evidence from other periods which attests to the existence of a pyramidal shaped head-piece worn by the Emperor and some of high officials. (See M. Andreeva, Ocherki, 65-66, for the opinion that the pyramid was a special crown used by the Angeloi and the Emperors at Nicaea only.) See, for example, Choniates (of Andronikos I): πυραμιδοσυμένην καλύπτραν; πῦλον... ὅς ἐς ὅξυ λήγων πυραμίδι (CSHB, 328, 12-13; 452, 5-9; ed. van Dieten, 252, 75; 346, 30); Gregoras (of George Mouzalon, megas logothetes): καλύπτραν... ὅσον τὸ ἄνω καὶ πρὸς τῇ πυραμίδι τῆς ἐπιφανείας χῶμα (I, 170, 16-18); Gregoras (of court officials in general): ἐν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καλύπτρας πυραμίδος μὲν ἔχουσας σχῆμα (I, 567).

These pyramidal-shaped hats should perhaps be identified with the skiadion which, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, was worn by officials and Emperors alike, although the colour of the skiadion differed according to rank. See Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices, ed. J. Verpeaux, 141, note 1; 145-148; 151-166. The Emperor himself wore a skiadion, as opposed to a stemma or crown on Christmas eve and when he was in mourning (ed. Verpeaux, 195, 11-13; 226, 28-227, 8). That is to say, the skiadion was not the head-piece with which he might be crowned or in which he might be represented since it was not his most official headwear. For a representation of the skiadion see the miniature portrait of John VIII Kantakouzenos (Sinait.gr. 2123, f. 30v) now discussed by I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden, 1976), 51-53; pl. 20. Akropolites, therefore, by using the word 'pyramids' is describing the shape of the head-piece and is not giving the technical word which existed for the hat. Thus, he avoids employing a current term.

19, 24. A φιάλη was, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, an article of clothing (ed. Verpeaux, 200, 7; 203, 5-6). However, the word is more commonly used to refer to 'bowls' or 'cups'. It appears with this meaning in a work roughly contemporary with Akropolites' History; see Holobolos, ed. Treu, 97, 2.

19,25-20,7. Akropolites' story that a priest threw the cross in a river is plausible since a tributary of the Jantra river flows in the Sipka pass (see note on 19, 13-20). According to Skoutariotes, this cross was said to have been the one the Emperor Constantine the Great used to take on campaign, as did other Emperors after him (ed. Sathas, 405, 1-4). A late Athonite tradition (19th century) identifies the cross lost by the Emperor Isaac on this campaign with one given to the monastery of Vatopedi in the fourteenth century by the Serbian Prince Lazar (1371-1389). A Chapel (τὸ παρεκκλήσιον τῆς Ζώνης) was built at Vatopedi in honour of the donation. See G. Millet, J. Pargoire, L. Petit, Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Athos (Paris, 1961), no. 101; A. Frolov, La Relique de la Vraie Croix (Paris, 1961), 349, no. 381; 521, no. 756. However, no other source confirms this identification.

For the Virgin's Girdle (Ζώνη), kept in the church of the Chalkopratia, Constantinople, see M. Jugie, 'L'Eglise de Chalkopratia et le culte de la Sainte Vierge à Constantinople', EO 16 (1913), 308-312.

20,7-8. A rumour spread that the Emperor had been killed in the disastrous expedition. He returned to Constantinople to reassure the people: Choniates, CSHB, 564, 16-19; ed. van Dieten, 431,31-33.

XII. 20, 12-14. Choniates reports battles which took place near Philippoupolis (Plovdiv), on the Maritza river (see below 23,8-9), but not in the vicinity of Beroe (Stara Zagora), north-east of Philippoupolis. Philippoupolis and Beroe were part of a four-part theme. See the chrysobull of Alexios III (1198): TT, I, 269; Asdracha, 'Les Rhodopes', 275-276.

20, 15-16. Manuel Kammytzes, a cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III, held the title of protostrator under both Emperors: Choniates, CSHB, 526, 22; 660, 19-21; ed. van Dieten, 403, 61; 498,17-18; Oration IA, van Dieten,

106; V. Laurent, 'Les Bulles Métriques', Ἑλληνικά 5 (1932), 169-170, no. 319. For earlier members of the family see P. Gautier, 'L'Obituaire du Typikon du Pantocrator', REB 28 (1969), 256; see also below 38,16-17. For the title of protostrator which Choniates equates with the Latin 'marshal' (μαρισκαδόλαος) (CSHB, 794,3-6; ed. van Dieten, 600, 46-48) see C. Kyrris, 'Στρατότοπος= (ΠΡΩΤΟ) ΣΤΡΑΤΩΡ or Strator: A Military Institution in XVth Century Cyprus', EEBS 36 (1968), 132-134.

In 1199 Kammytzes headed an expedition against the boyar Ivanko-Alexios (see below 20,16; 21,1-2) to whom the Emperor Alexios had given command of the area around Philippoupolis and the hand of his granddaughter in marriage. Kammytzes was captured by Ivanko near Philippoupolis: Choniates, CSHB, 623,4-624,10; 678-681; ed. van Dieten, 473,45-68; 511,60-514,37; Brand, Byzantium, 125-126; 130-131.

20,15-17. By 1199, the date of Kammytzes' campaign, both Asen (see on 18,20-25) and Peter (see 20, 18-20) had died. John, or Kalojan, as he is best known, the third brother, ruled from 1197-1207, although he was not crowned Emperor until 1204. See note on 21,6-9. His name appears in the sources in various forms. On his coins and in his letters he calls himself ΚΑΛΩΒΝ Kalojan (Good John), while the Latin and Greek sources refer to him as Ἰωάννης, Johannisse, and with the diminutive of that name, Ἰωαννίτζης, Joannitius. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 143, and Dujčev, 'La bague-sceau', BS 36 (1975), 176-177, for forms of the name.

20, 18-20. Akropolites here, as above (18,23) speaks of Asen as the leader, with Peter in the dependent role. However, it is quite clear that Peter took the leading role in the beginning, perhaps until 1193. Choniates, in his History, says that Peter wore the crown and red slippers (CSHB, 486, 16-18; ed. van Dieten, 372,41-43) and in his oration of 1187 Peter figures as the villain (Oration B, van Dieten I, 7,28; 8,16; van

Dieten II, 66-79). Ansbert, describing the 1189 expedition of Frederick-Barbarossa in the Balkans, refers to Peter as 'ruler of the Vlachs and Bulgarians': Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedericks I, ed. A. Chroust, MGH, N.S. V (Berlin, 1928), 58. Asen took over from 1193 until his death in 1196 when 'the leadership of the Mysoi again passed to Peter': Choniates, CSHB, 621, 20-21; ed. van Dieten, 472, 19. See A. Každan, 'La Date de la Rupture entre Pierre et Asen', B 35 (1965), 167-174, who dates the split between the brothers to 1193 by means of court speeches delivered that year. After Asen's death (1196) Peter and Kalojan ruled jointly. See Choniates, CSHB, 622, 1-7; ed. van Dieten, 472, 23-24; Brand, Byzantium, 125, 127.

20,20-23. Great Preslav, on the Tīča river, was conquered by Peter and Asen soon after their revolt from Byzantine rule; see Choniates, CSHB, 486, 18-22; ed. van Dieten, 372, 43-46. The city had important associations as the capital of the First Bulgarian Empire. It had been built in 821 by Omortag, as an inscription attests: Zlatarski, Istorifā, I, 443-444; Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire (London, 1930), 77-78 and note 1, p. 78. The name Preslav, πρεσλαβα, was the Slavic translation of ὑπέροφημον and πᾶμφημον (οἶκος), words with which Omortag described his palaces. See T. Uspenski, 'Material dlia Bolgarskik Drevnostei. Aboba-Pliska', Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople 10 (1905), 235-237.

Provatos presents a problem of identification. Runciman locates it north-east of Adrianople (see his map), at the same time identifying it with modern Provadia (First Bulgarian Empire, 48). See also Zlatarski, Istorifā, I, 242; III, 43.; C. Asdracha, La Région, map. However, this identification is impossible since present-day Provadia, on a river of the same name, is east of Preslav and west of Varna, far to the north of Adrianople. The sources in fact give evidence of two places, Προβάτων and Προβάτους, one near Adrianople, the other

identical with present day Provadia. A bishop's list of the eleventh century places ὁ Προβιάτου under the Metropolis of Adrianople (H. Gelzer, Texte der Notitiae episcopatum (Munich, 1901), 558).

Ansbert, describing Frederick Barbarossa's expedition in 1189 refers to to urbem Probaton after mentioning Adrianople and before speaking of Didymoteichon (ed. Chroust, MGH, N.S. V, 53). These references indicate a location near Adrianople. However, an undated document (MM, I, 502) clearly refers to ἡ Προβιάτου as one of the places near the Metropolis of Varna, and a sixteenth century traveller speaks of the fortress of Prouadia as more than three days north of Adrianople, beyond Aetos: George Dousa, De itinere suo Constantinopolitano, Epistula (Leiden, 1599), 79. From these references it appears that Probatous can be identified with present-day Provadia, west of Varna. This identification is also more plausible since Peter ruled Preslav as well, which is located near modern Provadia. Furthermore, Akropolites and Choniates say that the brothers had control of the region between the Danube river and the Balkan mountains in the early years of their revolt, another indication that the location of Probatous in the area of Adrianople is not plausible.

No other source refers to the area Peter ruled as τοῦ Πέτρου... χώρα (l. 23), 'Peter's territory'.

20,23-21,2. Akropolites gives a very summary version of events here. Ivanko (Greek form of the name Ivan: Choniates, CSHB, 618,5; ed. van Dieten, 469,39) is known as Asen's first cousin only from Akropolites. For the circumstances of Asen's murder in 1196 see Choniates, CSHB, 618, 3-619,10; ed. van Dieten, 469,37-470,66; Brand, Byzantium, 125.

Ivanko did not flee after killing Asen, as Akropolites reports, but attempted to take Trnovo which Peter, Asen's brother, defended. He was forced to abandon the plan and went to Constantinople where he was given command of the area around Philippoupolis. However, he revolted after a

few years and Alexios sent Manuel Kammytzes against him. See above 20, 14-16 for this expedition which Akropolites reports out of chronological sequence. When this failed the Emperor went after Ivanko in person and killed him in 1200: Choniates, CSHB, 619, 10-624, 10; 651-681; 685-687; ed. van Dieten, 470, 66-473, 68; 509-514; 517-519.

21, 2-4. Again, Akropolitēs' version of events is not strictly correct. Both Peter and Kalojan ruled together after Asen's death until Peter's own death a year later (1197). Kalojan then ruled in his own name (1197-1207). See note on 21, 6-9.

XIII. 21, 6-9. Kalojan was not crowned until November 1204, seven years after he assumed power. He played the Greeks and the Pope against each other in order to press each side to give him a crown and a Patriarch. However it was the Pope who finally sent his legate, Cardinal Leo, who crowned Kalojan 'King' and consecrated Basil, Archbishop of Trnovo, as primate; see A. Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium I, nos. 60, 61, pp. 39-40; also J.R. Sweeney, 'Innocent III, Hungary and the Bulgarian Coronation: A Study in Medieval Papal Diplomacy', Church History 42 (1973), 320-334.

21, 14-15. Philippoupolis (Plovdiv) on the Maritza river, had been assigned to Renier of Trut; see Villehardouin, 304, 311; TT, II, 39: civitas maxima et munitissima; Asdracha, La Région, 154 ff. The people of the city had at first welcomed Renier, seeing in him a protection against Kalojan but when a great number of Renier's men abandoned him they surrendered to Kalojan: Villehardouin, 311, 345-345. However, a group of inhabitants put up a defence of the city and Kalojan was forced to lay siege to it (June 1205): Choniates, CSHB, 829, 1-830, 2; ed. van Dieten, 627, 76 ff.; Villehardouin, 401; TT, II, 39-40; Krantonelles, 'Η Συμπραξις, 49-55; E. Frances, 'La féodalité et les villes byzantines au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', BS 16 (1955), 88.

21,16-20. Adrianople (Orestias, modern Edirne), situated at the junction of the Toundza and Maritza rivers, was assigned to the Venetians by the Partitio: Villehardouin, 335; Carile, 'Partitio', 218; Asdracha, La Région, 137 and ff.; below 21,15 ff. The people of the city had at first accepted the Latins and even requested a garrison to protect them against Kalojan. But a revolt broke out in February 1205 because of the bad treatment which the Greeks received from the Latins: Villehardouin, 273, 303; Ernoul, 381. Baldwin left for Adrianople in March. He was followed by the Doge Dandolo; see Villehardouin, 336, 340, 349, 351; Choniates, CSHB, 811, 14-17; ed. van Dieten, 615, 11-13. There is no indication from other sources that the 'representative of the Doge' (11.19-20) was present at Adrianople.

21,20-24. The Latins attributed this move of the Greeks to their innate disloyalty. See Villehardouin, 333, 335; letter of Henry to the Pope, PL, CCXVII, col. 292D. However, both Greeks and Kalojan had been treated badly when they had approached the Latins and offered their services and cooperation. Therefore, they were bound together by the desire 'to do what evil they could to the Latins': Choniates, CSHB, 809, 11-12; ed. van Dieten, 613, 65. For an analysis of the Greek-Bulgarian alliance see A. Krantonelles, 'Η Σούμπαξις, passim.

22,4-8. Robert of Clari (64) describes the Cumans as unarmed 'except that they wear a garment of sheepskin and carry bows and arrows'. They were able to move quickly, showering the lumbering Latin knights with arrows: Choniates, CSHB, 813, 11-814, 1; ed. van Dieten, 616, 42-59; Gregoras, I, 15, 22-24; Villehardouin, 355.

22,8-11. The battle lasted approximately five days, 10-15 April 1205. See Villehardouin, 350-360; Robert of Clari, 105-106; Ernoul, 380-384; Choniates, CSHB, 811, 14-815, 18. Baldwin was taken captive to Trnovo where he died a short time later, the victim of Kalojan's wrath. For the various stories concerning his death see Aubry of Trois Fontaines, MGH, XXIII, 885, 25-42; Choniates, CSHB, 847, 16-848, 1; ed. van Dieten, 642, 86-95; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 77-80. In 1225 a 'false' Baldwin

appeared in Flanders: Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 915, 35; Wolff, 'Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172-1225', Speculum 27 (1952), 281-322.

22, 11-14. Akropolites' version of Baldwin's death (which differs from Choniates': CSHB, 847, 16-848, 1; ed. van Dieten, 642, 86-95) suggests a parallel to the Emperor Nikephoros I's death at the hands of Khan Krum (803-814) who was said to have made a goblet from the Emperor's skull: Theophanes, Chronographia, ed. de Boor, (Leipzig, 1883), I, 491, 17-22. Constantine Akropolites, son of George, in an encomium of St. Demetrios, says that Kalojan was given the name of Krum by the Greeks because of his wickedness: ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνέκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας I (St. Petersburg, 1891), 211, 8-10.

There is no other known evidence for Constantine's comment apart from his father's allusion. George may have described Baldwin's end in this fashion because he was struck by the historical parallel of an Emperor in the hands of a 'barbarian'. His version of Baldwin's death is perhaps no closer to the truth than Choniates'. See Prinzing, Bedeutung, 58, 60, 84.

22, 14-22. Choniates says that it was the Doge Dandolo who suggested that lights be left burning in the tents to give the impression that the Latin army was present: CSHB, 814, 11-15; ed. van Dieten, 617, 67-70. On this

22, 22-26. Akropolites has misplaced this event in time. After the battle of Adrianople, described above, Kalojan retreated westward to Thessalonike and Serres: Villehardouin, 389, 392. It was then that he destroyed Philippoupolis (see above 21, 14-16). Not until the spring of 1206 did Kalojan set out to conquer Adrianople and Didymoteichon, 'deeming these

cities the prize of the whole war': Choniates, CSHB, 835,5-837,5; ed. van Dieten, 632,29-633,56; Villehardouin, 423-424; 425. He made three attempts to take Adrianople but failed each time; see Villehardouin, 442, 461; 472-475; Henry's letter written from Adrianople in September 1206: TT,II,42; Choniates, CSHB,852,7-19;ed. van Dieten, 645, 89-646,4. Kalojan's failures attest to the strength of the fortifications at Adrianople. On this see Asdracha, La Région, 143-144; below 54, 14-17.

22,26-23,1. Akropolites' statement that the Bulgarians did not know the techniques of siege is incorrect. Other sources give us evidence of their skill. For the siege at Varna (1201) Kalojan constructed a square tower on wheels, the height of the walls and the width of the moat: Choniates, CSHB, 706,10-16; ed. van Dieten, 532,28-533,34; Brand, Byzantium, 132. See also Choniates' account of the siege of Didymoteichon where Kalojan diverted the river: CSHB, 835,10-17; ed. van Dieten, 632, 22-28.

Skoutariotes tells us the more probable reason for Kalojan's failure at Adrianople: a small army (ed. Sathas, 459, 16-18). Kalojan depended on the Cumans to win at Adrianople in 1205 (see 22, 2-4). When they withdrew in the summer because of the heat, he was forced to abandon the campaign (Villehardouin, 389, 473-474).

23,3-4. The term Macedonia is used to describe several geographical areas, including present-day Thrace, but it is probable that Akropolites is here referring to the area of the theme of Macedonia, located in classical and modern Thrace with its centres at Adrianople, Philippoupolis, Traianoupolis, and Mosynoupolis; see P. Koledarov, BB 4 (1973), 148-149; I. Lemerle, Philippe et la Macedoine Orientale (Paris, 1945), 123; see also on 38, 18.

Kalojan raided and destroyed Macedonia from the time of the siege of Adrianople in 1205 until the spring of 1206: Villehardouin, 424; Choniates, CSHB, 839, 12ff.; ed. van Dieten, 637, 8 ff.; Oration IΔ, van Dieten I, 129; van Dieten II, 146 ff. .

23, 4-13. Not all the towns Akropolites lists here were completely razed to the ground by Kalojan. At least Makri, Mosynoupolis and Philippoupolis would seem to have continued to prosper; see Asdracha, La Région, 105, 118, 158-159 and below 39, 17. However, Trajanoupolis never recovered while Peritheorion had to be rebuilt by Andronikos III in 1341: Kantakouzenos II, 197, 6-11; Asdracha, La Région, 100, 119-120. For a description of the damage Kalojan did see Villehardouin, 394, 416-418; 442; 491; Choniates, CSHB, 839, 22-840,3; ed. van Dieten, 637, 15-19; Oration IZ, van Dieten I, 184, 27-30; Henry's letter: TT, II, 40.

1. 10. Herakleia, Panion, Rhaedestos: on the Sea of Marmara: Villehardouin, 415-417.

1. 11. Charioupolis: to the north-west of Rhaedestos; present day Airebol: Zlatarsky, Istoriia, III, 242, note 20.

1. 11. Tranjanoupolis (near Alexandroupolis) and Makri, on the Aegean coast near the mouth of the Maritza river: Villehardouin, 383, mentions these towns but not as victims of Kalojan's raids. They appear in the Partitio together as one episkepsis: ed. Carile, 220, 270; see Asdracha, La Région, 117-118; 118-120.

1. 11. Klaudioupolis has not been identified. There is a town of the same name in Asia Minor (Turk. Bolu); see Hierokles, Synekdèmos, ed. Honigmann, 34.

1. 12. Peritheorion: (ancient Anastasioupolis: Kantakouzenos, I, 542, 10-15), a port near Abdyra on the Aegean; see P. Lemerle, Philippos et la Macedoine Orientale, 129-130; 260; Asdracha, La Région, 98-104.

23, 13-16. That Kalojan moved the people he had subjected to the Danube (Ister) river area is confirmed by other sources: TT, II, 40 : in Blakiam transmisit; Villehardouin, 491; 394.

23, 16-19. The epithet 'Bulgarslayer' appears in the sources from the eleventh century. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 105-106.

23, 1^a-2⁴. Kalojan laid siege to Thessalonike in the autumn of 1207. The city was saved by his sudden death. Various legends developed in the thirteenth century giving St. Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike, credit for the city's salvation. The contemporary Latin sources which record the siege and Kalojan's death reflect this tradition and are evidence that the story giving St. Demetrios credit dates from that time and was not a latter invention. See Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 886, 28: cum iret contra Thessaloniam, a beato Demetrio fuit interfectus; Robert of Clari, 107-108. The legend is found in a fuller and more elaborate form in the works of John Staurakios, chartophylax in Thessalonike, and Constantine Akropolites, megas logothetes. See 'Ιωάννου Σταυρακίου Λόγος εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου, ed. I. Iberites, Μακεδονικά 1, (1940), 369-372; Constantine Akropolites, Λόγος εἰς τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα καὶ μυροβλῆτην Δημήτριον, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα, I, 211-213. The legend is especially significant in view of the fact that the founders of the 'Second Bulgarian Empire', Kalojan's brothers, had built a church of St. Demetrios at their capital and had spread propaganda that the saint had left the Greeks and was supporting the Bulgarians in their endeavours: Choniates, CSHB, 485, 3-20; ed. van Dieten, 371, 13-28; A. Papadopoulos, 'Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημήτριος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Παράδοσιν (Thessalonike, 1971), 70-78. The story concerning Kalojan's death therefore confirmed that St. Demetrios was still with, or had returned to, the Greeks..

George Akropolites alone ascribes Kalojan's death to an illness. However, by his statement, 'it seemed to him that an armed man appeared to him in his sleep and struck his side with a sword' (23,22-23), Akropolites shows evidence of knowing the legend. Although he does not identify 'the man', he speaks of θεομηνία. As Akropolites was not writing an oration in honour of Thessalonike, as were Staurakios and Constantine Akropolites, he did not need to flatter his audience by repeating a story attributing yet another miracle to St. Demetrios.

23,25-24,2. Apart from Akropolites' mention, the epithet Σκυλοιδάωννης (Dog John) is found also in marginal notes to cod. Vat. gr. 163 which contains the histories of Choniates and Akropolites. John Chortasmenos, the author of these notes, owned the manuscript and probably took the material for his notes from Akropolites' work. See Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera I, vi; I. Dujčev, 'Appunti di Storia Bizantino-Bulgara', Studi Bizantini e Neocellenici 4 (1935), 133-137. Constantine Akropolites also alludes to the epithet in his oration for St. Demetrios: τῇ κλήσει προσθήκην ἀπὸ κυνός (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα I, 211, 13-14.

24,5. The Serbian 'Life' of St. Sava by Theodosius claims that Kalojan's body was taken to Trnovo where it was buried; see Zlatarski, Istoriia, III, 257-258. Excavations at Trnovo (Church of the Forty Martyrs) have revealed the skeleton of a man buried with a ring which bears the inscription 'Kalojan Tsar of the Bulgarians'. See I. Dujčev, 'La bague-sceau du roi bulgare Kalojan', BS 36 (1975), 173-183.

24,5-7. Boril is identified as Kalojan's nephew both by Robert of Clari (108) and Henry of Valenciennes (506) but only Akropolites mentions his marriage with Kalojan's Cuman wife. See Zlatarski (Istoriia, III, 259-261) for the view that Kalojan's death was brought about by the Cuman contingent in his army, with the aid of his Cuman wife.

Boril's seizure of power is commented on by Henry in his letter of 1212 'to his friends in the west': ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 411, 14-18. For the coins of Tsar Boril (1207-1218) see Mushmov, Monetitie, 158-159. See also below §XX.

24, 7-9. Asen's son (see above 21,4-5), John Asen II (1218-1241) was in his early teens at the time of Boril's take-over; see Prinzing, Bedeutung, 85; Dujčev, 'Prinosi', 148; below on 33,1-13.

XIV. 24,12-13. The expression 'and a part of the land of the Romans' is not found in Ephraim (7636) or Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 460) who merely says that Michael ruled over Epiros. The phrase creates a contrast with 'ruled over Epiros' as if Epiros were not a part of the territory of the Roman Empire. See also below 166, 6-7. Later sources do indeed give the impression that Epiros was held by Michael's ancestors from the Emperor in Constantinople and that in 1204, with the confusion which followed the Fourth Crusade, Michael set up an independent rule there as did many others elsewhere.

Kantakouzenos (I, 520,15 ff.) claims that the Angeloi did not free Akarnania from the barbarians (Latins) but were subjects of the Emperor of the Romans and held annual command from them. At the time of the war between Latins and Romans they took power into their own hands (520,22-521,2). Kantakouzenos makes clear that the usurpation of power took place after 1204 although the Angeloi had been established in Epiros before 1204: βασιλεῖα μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ὑπεχώρησε πρὸς ἑω. Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἄγγελοι προσεποιήσαντο ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλας τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπαρχιῶν

(I,520,15-18). In addition, Pachymeres relates the discussion between Michael II (son of Michael I) and the Emperor Michael VIII in 1263 concerning the Emperor's right over Thessaly since it once belonged to the Empire : ὥς πάλαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσήκωσαν (I,206, 17). Michael II argued that his parents had won the land (Thessaly is meant: τὰ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ πέραν : I, 205, 2-7) from the Latins with their toil and blood and had left it as an inheritance to their children; therefore he could not rightly hand it over: I, 207,2-7. Epiros is not even mentioned. It seems to be exempt from the arguments offered by Michael II in the case of Thessaly. Given these two passages and Akropolites' expression here it would seem that Epiros was, in fact, a special case. Unfortunately, we have no information as to whether Michael's father, the sebastokrator John Doukas, had anything to do with Epiros nor do we have any indications from earlier

sources as to the situation described by Kantakouzenos.

The 'part of the land of the Romans' which Michael (I) Komnenos Doukas ruled were places he had taken from the Latins: Dyrrachion, Corfu, Larissa, Salona (Amphissa): see Nicol, Despotate, 24-43; Prinzing, Bedeutung, 110, 114, 134, note 71. For Dyrrachion, taken in 1212, see Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 886; letter of Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, ed. Loenertz, 'Lettre', 99, 112, 256 ff.; the Serbian 'Life' of Stephen Nemanja, ed. S. Hafner, Serbisches Mittelalter I (Cologne, 1962), 118-120. A letter of the Patriarch Manuel Sarantenos, dated to 1222 (Ferjančić, Tesalijska, 42) shows that Michael controlled Larissa: see Vasilievski, 'Epirotica', 268. For Michael's control of Corfu see Nicol, Despotate, 38-39. For Michael, see notes on 13, 24-25; 14, 1-4. 24, 14-17. Manuel, Theodore and Constantine were Michael's half-brothers since Michael himself was the illegitimate son of the sebastokrator John Doukas; see above 13, 24-25. For Manuel see Polemis, Doukai, no. 43, p. 90, and below § XXVI, § XXXVIII. For Constantine see on 15, 1-2; below 62, 6-7; Polemis, Doukai, no. 44, p. 91.

That Theodore Komnenos Doukas was in the service of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris is confirmed by a letter (1226-1227) of George Bardanes to the Patriarch Germanos: Loenertz, 'Lettre', 87-118, esp. 115, 370-116, 382. Bardanes does not specify what this service entailed except in a general way: *προϋρία παρασπώμενος καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦς πολλοῦς* (Loenertz, 'Lettre', 116, 381-382). By stating that Theodore Komnenos was serving Theodore Laskaris as were 'the rest of the Romans', Akropolites is giving expression to the 'Nicaean' attitude that the Komneno-Doukai in Epiros and their subjects were not 'Romans'. For this attitude see the Introduction, 63-65.

21,19-21. Constantine, son of Michael I, is mentioned in Michael's agreement of 1210 with the Venetians: TT, II, 123; Polemis, Doukai, 92, and note 10. It is possible that the illegitimate son mentioned here, Michael II, and Constantine are the same person; see Nicol, 'The Greek and Latin Empires, 1204-1261', Cambridge Medieval History, IV (1966), 314, note 1. For Michael II see below 64, 20-22. Michael I had three daughters as well; for them see Polemis, Doukai, 92,

24,23-25,3. Theodore Komnenos' oath to Theodore Laskaris is known also from a letter of George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, to the Patriarch Germanos of Nicaea, written years after the event. Bardanes, writing as an apologist for Theodore, claims that when Theodore Komnenos was with Laskaris, the latter had not yet been proclaimed or crowned Emperor; see Loenertz, 'Lettre', 115, 374-375. It has been inferred from this statement that Theodore Komnenos swore the oath to Laskaris before Laskaris was proclaimed Emperor (1205). As a result, Theodore Komnenos' departure from Asia Minor has been dated to c. 1205. But there are two reasons for dating his departure to much later, possibly to c. 1210-1212, as Stiernon suggests ('Les Origines', 106) without evidence: (1) the particular position of this episode in the sequence of Akropolites' narrative, between events of 1207 and c. 1212 (2) the fact that Akropolites says that Theodore's brother Michael died not long after Theodore arrived in the west; it is known that Michael died sometime after 1212; see 25,3-4 and note.

A Patriarchal tomos of 1208-1210 (Laurent, Regestes, no. 1207) refers to an oath sworn to the Emperor Theodore by his relations, magnates, magistrates, the army and the people; see N. Oikonomides, 'Cinq Actes', 122-124, for the text of the tomos; 136-139 for commentary.

It is not known whether this oath, mentioned by the tomos, is the same as that sworn by Theodore Komnenos. However, since Theodore left to serve in lands not under the Emperor Theodore's control he probably swore another oath, in addition to, or distinct from, the one mentioned by the tomos. This oath bound him to the Emperor as one of his oikeioi. The words used by Akropolites, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ (25,1) are those used to describe the bonds which exist between an Emperor and his oikeios. On this see J. Verpeaux, 'Les Oikeioi', 89-99, esp. 91-96; N. Svoronos, 'Le Serment de Fidélité', 106-142, esp. 139-140; J. Ferluga, 'La Ligesse dans l'Empire Byzantin', Zbornik Radova 7 (1961), 97-123, esp. 122; now see M. Angold, Byzantine Government, 66-67.

25,3-6. Ephraim (7655-7658) and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 460, 28-29) agree with Akropolites' version of Michael's murder by a man called Romaïos. Ephraim adds that the man fled to Bellegrada (Berat) after the act. Like Akropolites, the Serbian 'Life' of Stephen Nemanja identifies the murderer as a servant of Michael's; see S. Hafner, Serbisches Mittelalter I, 120. Michael's death is dated to 1214/5 although this date is not based on any evidence: Prinzing, Bedeutung, 114; Nicol, Despotate, 42; Stiernon, 'Les Origines', 106. The last document which mentions Michael alive is the Emperor Henry's letter of 1212: ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 411, 19.

Michael's wife was either the daughter or the widow of Sennacherim, the local Magnate whose call for help Michael answered c. 1204. See above on 14,1-4; Villehardouin, 301; Job, 'the Life of St. Theodora', ed. Moustoxides, 43; Nicol, Despotate, 13, 22, note 13.

25,6-8. Manuel and Constantine were associated with Theodore although they played secondary roles, at least until 1230. See Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 460, 30-31): 'with his brothers ... subordinate to him'.

25,8-10. Theodore's expeditions to regain territory from the Latins went farther south than has been thought. A poem by Iakobos, Archbishop of Ochrid in the 1240's, recounts a raid (1219) by a group of Theodore's soldiers on the monastery of St. Meletios in Myoupolis, on the border of Attica and Boeotia, south of Thebes: 'Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi Opuscula', ed. S. Mercati, Bessarione 21 (1917), 222-226=Collectanea Byzantina I (Bari, 1970), 93-97. Theodore may have intended to attack Thebes, the most important city under Latin domination in the area.

25,11. The region contained by Thessaly can be defined as the area drained by the Peneios and Spercheios rivers. For a detailed description of the region see B. Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 3-6; see below on 43,1. Theodore's acquisitions in Thessaly were considerable. They stretched from the southern boundary of Macedonia in the north, to Neopatras in the south. See the letters of John Apokaukos, ed. Vasilievsky, 'Epirotica', 243-248; Nicol, Despotate, 58-59; Ferjančić, Tesalijsa, 39-44.

25,11-12. Ochrid ('Αχρῖς, 'Αχρῖδα), ancient Lychnis, situated on a lake of the same name in Macedonia, and Prilapon (Prilep) to the north-east of Ochrid, were both under Bulgarian control when Theodore took them in 1216/7. The date of their conquest is based on the appointment of Demetrios Chomatenos to the Archbishopric of Ochrid: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Sbornik Statei Posviashchennyk V.N. Lamanskomu I (1907), 228. On the Slavic etymology of the name Ochrid (=built on the edge of a rock) see Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich (Warsaw, 1967), III, 452. For Prilep see A. Deroko, 'Markovi Kuli-Grad Prilep', Starinar, N.S. 5-6 (1954-1955), 83-104; Nicol, Despotate, 49; Prinzing, Bedeutung, 114.

25,12. In the thirteenth century Albanon was the name of the mountainous region between Dyrrachion and Ochrid on the Via Egnatia, and including Krozi to the north: G. Stadtmüller, 'Forschungen zur Albanischen Frühgeschichte', Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis 7 (1941), 160-173, esp.

168-173; A. Ducellier, 'L'Arbanon et les Albanais au XI^e siècle', Travaux et Mémoires 3 (1968), 353-368. See also on 43,2.

25,12. Dyrrachion (Durazzo), the ancient Epidamnos, on the Adriatic coast of modern Albania, had been conquered by Theodore's brother, Michael, in 1212/3. See note on 24, 12-13. The town was one of Theodore's most important assets, as an inscription on its walls, dating to 1225, testifies. See A. Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum IV (Berlin, 1877), 99; L. Heuzey, H. Daumet, Mission Archéologique de Macedoine (Paris, 1876), 357-358. The wording of the inscription is somewhat similar to Ephraim's description (7660-7661) of Theodore Komnenos Doukas.

25, 13-20. Peter of Courtenay, count of Nevers and Auxerre, and brother-in-law of the Emperors Baldwin (1204-1205) and Henry (1206-1216) by marriage to their sister, Yolanda, was chosen to ascend the imperial throne after Henry's death; see below 30,25. Pope Honorius III crowned Peter Emperor on 9 April 1217 in San Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome, to avoid the possibility of conflict over claims to the western Empire : Regesta Honorii Papae III, ed. P. Pressutti (Rome, 1888), 88, no. 497; TT, II, 193-195. Peter attacked Dyrrachion on behalf of the Venetians. As in the case of Baldwin, the exact circumstances of his death are not known. See note on 26, 5-9.

25,20-24. Yolanda (Ἰολαντίνα) travelled to Constantinople by sea as she was expecting the birth of the future Baldwin II: Ernoul, 392; below 44, 10-11. She ruled in Constantinople until 1219 when her son Philip was summoned to rule; see Andrea Dandolo, Chronica, RIS, XII, 285. When Philip declined the offer imperial authority passed on to Robert in 1222; Ernoul, 393; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 906; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 151-157; Hendrickx, 'Les Institutions', Βυζαντινά 6 (1974), 142-143.

26,1-2. For Maria, Theodore Laskaris' third wife, see note on 31,1-2; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 906; Philippe Mouskes, 23009-23012.

26,4-5. See Richard of San Germano, ed. Garufi, 77: per devia et condensa sylvarum.

26,6. It has been pointed out that Akropolites gives Theodore the name Komnenos in relating events before 1230 (battle at Klokotnitsa) and only after that date calls him Angelos: Stiernon, 'Los Origines', 117; Polemis, Doukai, 89, note 2. See below 41, 11, 18. Akropolites does not give Michael, Theodore's brother, any surname at all. By using the name Komnenos to refer to Theodore, Akropolites is underlining Theodore's imperial lineage. He was a first cousin of the Emperors Isaac II and Alexios III; see 13, 24-25.

26,5-9. Akropolites (and Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 461,23-24; Ephraim, 7686) are the only sources to claim that Peter of Courtenay was killed. Most of the Latin sources say he died in prison: Philippe Mouskes, 23030-1; Richard of San Germano, 77-78; Ernoul, 392-393. See Nicol, Despotate, 51-52.

Contrary to expectations, Akropolites gives Theodore Komnenos full credit for his victory over Peter. His hostility for members of the Komneno-Doukas family and their actions becomes vividly apparent only with his narration of the events he knew first-hand: see below 89, 2 ff.

XV. 26,12-13. It seems that all three daughters were born in Constantinople before 1204 since Pachymeres (I,318,1-2) says of Eudokia, the youngest, that she was born in the capital. See above 10,20.

26,13-15. King Andrew II of Hungary (son of Bela III) stopped at Nicaea on his return from the Fifth Crusade in 1217/8 and negotiated a marriage between Maria and his son Bela IV (1235-1270): Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 905, 37-40; 911, 39-40; E. Darko, Byzantinisch-ungar-

ische Beziehungen in der zweite Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts

(Weimar, 1933), 7. In 1271/2 a daughter of this marriage, Anna, was sought in marriage for Michael VIII's son Andronikos: Pachymeres, I, 317,17-318,5.

26, 16-19. Eirene, the eldest of Theodore's daughters, was married to Andronikos (Constantine?) Palaiologos in Nicaea, February 1216, by Nicholas Mesarites, Archbishop of Ephesos. See A. Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 59-61, for the date of the marriage. A note in a manuscript containing Mesarites' works refers to the wedding performed by Mesarites but calls the bride groom the Despot Constantine, not Andronikos. See A. Martini, D. Bassi, Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae I (Milan, 1906), 406; Heisenberg, Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos, 10. The problem of his name cannot be resolved on the basis of existing information.

Andronikos' parentage is unknown; see Polemis, Douka, no. 140; V. Laurent, 'La Généologie des Premiers Paléologues', B 8 (1933), 147. He was meant to succeed his father-in-law as Emperor, it seems, since he was married to the Emperor's eldest daughter and was given the title of Despot.

26, 20-22. The future Emperor John III Doukas (1222-1254) was probably a son of Basil Batatzes, Domestikos of the East and doux of the Thrakesion theme under the Emperor Isaac II. According to Choniates, Basil was of undistinguished birth but was raised to high office by virtue of his marriage to a cousin of the Emperor Isaac: CSHB 522, 21-523,2; 587,18-588,6; ed. van Dieten, 400, 74-78; 446, 64-70. See also MM, IV, 292, 325; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 130-131.

The Batatzai appear in the sources from the tenth century and seem to have been from Thrace originally: Skylitzes, CSHB, 565,3; ed. Thurn, 441,56; K. Amantos, 'Ἡ οἰκογένεια Βατάτζη', EEBS 21 (1951), 174-178. The fourteenth century 'Life' of John Batatzes

calls him 'the Thracian' from Adrianople: ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 195, 14; 198, 2.

Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 462, 3-4) says that John held the title of protovestiaros, although Akropolites (and Ephraim, 7847) call him a protovestiarites. At Nicaea neither title was connected with any function having to do with the treasury (Angold, Byzantine Government, 206). Both seem to have been honorary titles whose recipients sometimes held military commands. For example, see below 66, 19-20; 92, 17; 159, 20, 23-24. Akropolites does not say whether the Emperor Theodore bestowed the title of Despot on John at the time of his marriage to Eirene (after 1215/6). Since John Batatzes' assumption of imperial power in 1222 was not smooth (see on 32, 12-14), this may be an indication that he had not been designated Despot.

26, 22-23. For Anna see on 17, 20-23; 32, 10-11. For the date of her death (by 1212) see N. Oikonomides, 'Cinq Actes', 128-129 and note 20a.

26, 23-27, 1. Negotiations for Theodore's second marriage began in October 1213. See the synodal letter to King Leo II of Armenia in assurance of a canonical marriage: A. Pavlov, 'Sinodalnaia Gramota 1213 goda o grecheskago imperatora s docheriu armianskago kniazia', VV 4 (1897), 164-166; V. Laurent, Regestes, no. 1214, 16-18; Choniates, Letter IA, van Dieten, I, 216-217. In the synodal letter the bride-to-be is called a legitimate daughter of the King but in Armenian sources she is said to be Iac's niece, Philippa: Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens, I (Paris, 1869), 627, 640, 510, note 1. Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 462, 5-8) calls her a daughter of the King while Akropolites leaves the question open by saying she was ἐξ 'Ἀρμενίων .

The reason for Theodore's rejection of his Armenian wife is not known. However, Nicholas Mesarites, writing in 1214, says that 'the Armenians falsified the conditions of the marriage': Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 47, 26-29. See van Dieten II, 181-186, and Heisen-

berg, 'Zu den armenisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts', Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 6 (1929), 3-20, for theories as to the reason for rejection.

27.1. For Cilicia (Lesser Armenia) see S. Der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', The Later Crusades, edd. Wolff, Hazard, II (Philadelphia, 1962), 630-659.

27.1-3. When Maria and Theodore were married in 1219, Robert (1221-1228) had not yet ascended the throne. His mother Iolanda ruled before him until her death in 1219; see Philippe Mouskes, 23025-6; 23023033; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 157. Theodore and Maria had no children. See above 25, 20-24; Gregoras, I, 21, 20-25; 24, 4-6,

27. 7-11. Theodore's battle with the Sultan Kaikhusraw in 1210/11 is meant; see above 15, 10-17, 19. Nearly all the Latin mercenaries, numbering 800, were said to have perished in that battle.

27. 16-17. An account of the Emperor Henry's (1206-1216) campaign against Theodore Laskaris in the autumn of 1211 is given in Henry's letter written in 1212 to his friends in the west to inform them of his achievements: Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 395-431; J. Longnon, 'La Campagne de Henri de Hainaut en Asie Mineure en 1211', Bulletin de l'Academie Belge 34 (1948), 442-452. The Latin army started from Pegai and made its way eastward to the Rhyndakos river where it encamped. A day long battle took place on 15 October 1211. Although Theodore's men greatly outnumbered the enemy, the Latins were victorious. Henry does not mention Nymphaion (between the Hermos and Kaistros rivers) in his letter, written from Pergamum, but it is possible that he did advance that far, as Akropolites says. Certainly there is evidence .. that Henry's troops were expected in the Thrakesion theme; the sebastokrator George, the Emperor Theodore's brother, was in charge of moving-- people from that theme to safer places:

IM, IV, 35.

27, 19-21. Henry does not mention any agreement in his letter of 1212. A treaty could have been signed any time after that date. There is no reason to assign a date of 1214 to the agreement as Prinzing ('Der Brief', 430) and Longnon (L'Empire latin, 145-147) do. See Dölger, Regesten, no. 1684.

27,22-28,3. For the fortress of Achyraous or Ochyra (Balıkesir) in the vicinity of Atramyttion see Hasluck, Cyzicus (Cambridge, 1910), 93-94; W. Ramsay, Historical Geography, 156, 159. A reference to the Latin occupation of Achyraous is made by the Patriarch Germanos (1220-1240) who spent some time in the monastery of St. George Paneumorphos in that town before he became Patriarch. See S. Lagopates, Γερμανός ὁ Β' Πατριάρχης (Tripolis, 1913), 216, 10-19; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG, CXLVII, col. 465 C.

28,3-5. The village of Kalamos (modern Gelembe), to the south of Achyraous, was, according to Akropolites, the northernmost boundary of the Neokastra theme which extended as far south as Magnesia and Sardis. It seems that the region called Neokastra did not include Pergamum and Chliara, as it had in the twelfth century at the time of the founding of the homonymous theme: Choniates, CSHB, 194, 23-195, 21; ed. van Dieten, 150, 35-54); Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 134-135; 163. Angold, Byzantine Government, 193, 246. That Pergamum and Chliara were not part of Neokastra can be deduced from the fact that they were listed as separate provincia in the Partitio (Carile, 'Partitio', 218, 20-21; 244) and are mentioned in addition to Neokastra by Akropolites in this passage (28, 6-7).

The theme (θέμα), the chief unit of provincial administration, seems to have maintained its military and administrative character in the thirteenth century. See below 123, 9-11, where it is evident that the Neokastra theme, at least, supplied an army. Beginning with the thirteenth century, however, themes are more

numerous, although smaller in area, sometimes consisting only of a town and the surrounding area. On this subject see M. Angold, Byzantine Government, 239 ff., L. Maksimović, Vizantijska provincijska uprava, 20 ff. ; D. Angelov, 'K Boprosu o Praviteliakh fem v epirskom Despotate i Nikeiskoi Imperii', BS 12 (1951), 56-74.

28, 5-8. Kelbianon refers to the region of the Kaistros river valley; see note on 12, 17-21. Chliara and Pergamum (Bergama) are both in the Kaikos river valley: Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 135; H. Gelzer, Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen (Berlin, 1903), 86 ff. See the letter of Theodore II Laskaris describing the ancient ruins of Pergamum (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 107-108) and the comments by C. Mango, 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', DOP 17 (1963), 68-69. For Chliara, see Ramsay, Historical Geography, 117-118. Magidia is probably to be identified with Pachymeres' Magedon (I, 311, 7; 220, 6; 468, 20), in the area between Achyraous and Kalamos, near Saittai; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 99; Ramsay, Historical Geography, 122. Opsikia cannot be a reference to the region of the Opsikion theme since the latter is too far to the north to have been included among the Emperor's territories by the terms of the treaty. Ramsay (Historical Geography, 123) identifies Opsikia with Koula, the fortress mentioned by Pachymeres (II, 435, 17) slightly to the south of Magidia, near Maionia. By $\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\iota\omega\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ (1.7), Akropolites is referring to the sideways position of Magidia and Opsikia with respect to the main bulk of territories which the Emperor Theodore had gained: Neokastra, Chliara, Pergamum and Kelbianon.

28, 8-10. Lopadion (on lake Artynia) was abandoned by the Latins in 1205 when they were summoned to the defence of Adrianople: Villehardouin, 341. Prousa (Bursa) and Nicaea (Iznik) were Theodore Laskaris' earliest acquisitions; see above 10, 21-11, 7.

XVI. 28, 13-14. Latin and Greek sources attest to Henry's popularity with the Greeks; see Henry of Valenciennes (671, 681) and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 463, 25-27; Additamenta, no. 13). A Greek popular song of the sixteenth century has survived which has Henry as its subject; see M. Manousakas, 'Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Δημοτικὸ Τράγουδι γιὰ τὸ βασιλεῖα Ἑρρίκο τῆς Φλάντρας', Λαογραφία 14 (1952), 3-52. Manousakas (51-52) claims that the song was based on a much earlier source which does not survive.

28, 17-18. The battle mentioned here was probably part of the offensive begun by Henry in 1211 and described above (27, 16-28, 11). Akropolites has separated this incident from its correct place in time in order to underline the courageous conduct of the Greeks and Henry's policy towards them.

28, 20. Surprisingly, this detail is found also in the popular song about Henry but there in connection with his love for a princess. It probably owes its inspiration to themes found in songs and not to a historical event. See Manousakas, Λαογραφία 14 (1952), 7, 8; 8, 5-6; 49-50 and note 2, p. 49.

29, 3. The Emperor's brother may be the sebastokrator George who was in charge of the resettlement of people living in the Thrakesion theme to safer places at the time of Henry's campaign: see note on 27, 16-17. Skoutariotes calls him the leader of the army: ed. Sathas, 464, 7-8; Additamenta, no. 14.

29, 4. This is perhaps a reference to Michael Dermokaites mentioned in a document of 1216 as administrator of the episkepsis of Sampson with the honorary title of pansebastos sebastos: MM, IV, 294; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1693. See D.M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine Family of Dermokaites c. 940-1453', BS 35 (1974), nos. 4, 5, pp. 3-4.

29, 9-10. George Theophilopoulos is not known from any other source although members of his family are attested for the thirteenth century.

XVII. This is Akropolites' sole reference to the state of ecclesiastical affairs during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. On this subject in general see R.L. Wolff, 'Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204-1261', DOP 8 (1954), 227-303; R. Janin, 'Au Lendemain de la conquête de Constantinople', EO 32 (1933), 5-21.

29, 12-15. Pope Innocent III sent Pelagius, cardinal-bishop of Albano, to Constantinople in 1213. See Innocent's letters of recommendation for the legate: PL, CCXVI, 901-903. Nicholas Mesarites was sent by the Emperor Theodore I to meet with Pelagius in Constantinople; see Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 6-54. At the time of Pelagius' mission the Patriarchal throne in Constantinople was vacant and therefore the question of a Greek or Latin Patriarch was open to consideration.

Akropolites uses the classical word ὀρχηρεῦς instead of ἐπισκοπος in accordance with the tradition of classical historiography in which there was no place for Christian terms. On this subject see A. and A. Cameron, 'Christianity and Tradition in the Historiography of the Late Empire', The Classical Quarterly, N.S., 14 (1964), 316-328. But Akropolites is not consistent in this practice; see 34,1.

29, 15-18. Pelagius made a point of showing off his red shoes to Mesarites at the meeting in 1213. The Pope's legate believed that the right to wear such imperial garments had been given to the successors of St. Peter by the Emperor Constantine; see Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 22, 16-32; W. Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (London, 1970), 318.

29, 18-20. Mesarites, who was not unprejudiced, says that the cardinal was 'filled with insane arrogance' : Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 23, 11. See also Ephraim, 7431: 'a reckless man, disdainful of the laws'.

29, 20. Akropolites is, of course, being sarcastic. Skoutariotes omits this sentence.

29, 20-24. Persecution of monks and priests seems to have been particularly harsh under Pelagius. See Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 464, 21; Additamenta, no. 15). Even before Mesarites' departure for Constantinople to meet with Pelagius, monks arrived from the Propontis, 'relating in detail the threats, persecutions, exiles [they would suffer] if they did not proclaim the Pope lord of all the clergy'. See Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 19, 26-29. In Constantinople Mesarites undertook to defend the Greek monks.

29, 24-30, 2. These demands were not new. They had been discussed in the 1206 talks (Heisenberg, Neue Quellen I, 52-60) and indeed had constituted a major 'stumbling block' between the churches from the twelfth century, along with the older problems of the filioque and the use of unleavened bread. On the question of the primacy of the Pope see now D.M. Nicol, 'The Papal Scandal', Studies in Church History XIII (1976), 141-168. Some clergy were willing to mention the Pope's name during the celebration of the divine liturgy but they demanded the right to their own Patriarch. The Pope was to the Greeks but Bishop of Rome. See Mesarites' statement on this subject: Neue Quellen, I, 56, 12-16. See also the letter (1214) of the Patriarch Theodore Eirenikos to the Greeks in Constantinople: A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, BZ 10 (1901), 190, 16-20; Laurent, Regestes, 24-26.

30, 2-12. Similar sentiments are expressed in the letter to Innocent III written by the Greek clergy in Constantinople: 'We consider Sire Henry, our Emperor, to be the master and under his shadow we live and labour... during the inferior part of our lives, the mortal and fleeting (part) ' : PG, CXL, 296 C-D. See also Setton, The Papacy, 42.

30, 12-17. Henry's sympathy with the requests of his Greek subjects is confirmed by another source. Some years before Pelagius' arrival in Constantinople Henry had reinstated Greek monks in the Chortaitou

monastery near Thessalonike from which they had been expelled by the Cistercians. See PL, CCXVI, 951-952; E. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276', Traditio 14 (1958), 80-81.

30, 17-22. Mesarites also relates that a group of persecuted monks went to Nicaea at this time: Neue Quellen III, 19, 26-29; see above on 29, 20-24. Skoutariotes adds that not a few of these refugees became archbishops (Additamenta, no. 16; ed. Sathas, 465, 13-14).

30, 25. The cause of Henry's sudden death at Thessalonike in 1216 is not known; see Ernoul, 391; Philippe Mouskes, 22981-22984. A sixteenth century popular Greek song about Henry attributes his death to murder by his wife; see M. Manousakas, Λαογραφία 14 (1952), 3-52; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 150-151.

30, 25-31, 1. Robert of Courtenay (1221-1228), son of Henry's sister Iolanda, came to the throne five years after Henry's death. See above on 25, 20-24; TT, II, 227-230; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 157. He is characterised by Aubry of Trois Fontaines as rudis et idiota (910).

31, 1-2. Robert's sister, Mary of Courtenay, and Theodore Laskaris were married in 1219. See above on 27, 1-3. Theodore made this marriage in the hope of coming closer to securing the throne at Constantinople; see Philip Mouskes, 23075-23100; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 160. After Theodore's death Mary went to Constantinople where she was regent. A document of 1228, renewing privileges to the Pisans, calls her baula imperii Constantinopolitani; see A. Schaube, 'Eine bisher unbekannte Regentin des lateinischen Kaiserreiches', Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 8 (1887), 587-594; also Hendrickx, 'Les Institutions de l'Empire latin', Βυζαντινὰ 6 (1974), 143-144.

31,3. Note Akropolites' use of βασιλεὺς to refer to Theodore Laskaris and the more limited title he gives Robert 'Emperor of Constantinople'. For an exhaustive study of the use of imperial titles in this period see G. Schiemenz, 'Zur politischen Zugehörigkeit des Gebiets um Sobesos und Zoropassos in den Jahren um 1220', JOBG 14 (1965), 222-237.

31, 3-9. Plans for this marriage were made soon after Robert's coronation in Constantinople (March 1221). According to Philippe Mouskes, Robert sent an embassy to Nicaea to negotiate peace and Theodore offered his daughter in marriage (23120-23146). Only Akropolites and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 465, 22-26; Additamenta, no. 17) give the Patriarch's objections as the reason for the failure of the marriage plans.

31, 9-11. His death is recorded in the year 1222. See the 'Short Chronicle of 1352', ed. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, p. 74.

31, 13-19. According to Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 465, 30-466,1; Additamenta, no. 18), Theodore had two sons by Anna, Nicholas and John, both of whom died young. For Nicholas, mentioned in a patriarchal tome of 1208, see Heisenberg, Neue Quellen II, 33-34; Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 122-124. Theodore's son by his Armenian wife was born in 1214; see Heisenberg, Neue Quellen III, 81-82. Nothing more is heard of him. Theodore did not have any children by Mary of Courtenay; see Gregoras I, 24, 3-6; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 906,35-36.

31, 19-22. Akropolites' calculation of an eighteen year reign is exactly correct if one takes 1205 as the beginning of Theodore's reign. On this see above on 11,5-9; N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', 26.

Gregoras (I, 13,14-16) states that Theodore was 'about thirty years old' when he was proclaimed Emperor. If he ruled eighteen years he would have been about forty-eight when he died. For similar figures for Theodore's age and length of reign see the 'Short Chronicle

of 1352', ed. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, 74.

31, 23-32, 2. It is noteworthy that although Theodore I Laskaris is the only Emperor at Nicaea whom Akropolites did not know personally, he is the only one whose appearance he describes. This fact perhaps indicates that Akropolites was following a written source here, although an eyewitness oral account cannot be excluded. A portrait of Theodore survives in cod. gr. 122 in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. See S. Lampros, Δεῦκωμα Βυζαντινῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων (Athens, 1930), pl. 72; see now I. Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden, 1976), pl. 119. Spatharakis argues convincingly that the drawings in the margin of the manuscript are reliable likenesses (pp. 174-176). Certainly in the case of Theodore I, the characteristic of a forked beard which Akropolites mentions is present in the Modena portrait as it is in Theodore's coins (Hendy, Coinage and Money, pls. 30-31).

32, 2-8. In this passage, an estimation of the Emperor's reign, Akropolites is eulogistic of Theodore to a greater degree than in discussing his successors. This favourable Kaiserkritik is perhaps due to the fact that the author did not know the Emperor nor did he live under his authority and therefore he had no expectations of him which could be disappointed. The aspects of Theodore's reign which Akropolites chose to describe, his financial policies at home and the effectiveness of his military programme are the two areas to which he confines his comments on the reigns of John III and Theodore II; see below 103, 19-104, 18; 104, 23-105, 17. Likewise he judges all these Emperors, both those he knew and Theodore I, in terms of stereotyped expectations. See A. Cameron's similar characterisation of Kaiserkritik in the late sixth century (Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 3 (1977), 16).

32, 2. This attribute is said to have been inherited by Theodore's grandson, Theodore II Laskaris; see Pachymeres I, 36, 10-11.

32, 4-6. As mentioned above (see on 16, 6-8), Theodore paid his soldiers, or at least his mercenaries very well.

32, 8-11. The 'Short Chronicle of 1352' confirms that Theodore was buried in the monastery of Hyakinthos: Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, 74.

XIX. 32, 12-14. The circumstances of John Batatzes' accession to the throne are not clear. There is no account of his proclamation or coronation. See A. Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογή, 'Αναγόρευσις καὶ Στέψις', 176. John is not known to have held the title of Despot, the dignity customarily bestowed on the heir designate. The sources (Akropolites' funeral oration for the Emperor John and the fourteenth century 'Life of the same. emphasise John's rightful assumption of power (κληρονόμον δίκαιον) and perfect suitability for the position; see Helsenberg, Opera II, 15, 12-16; 'Life', ed. Helsenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 209, 31-210, 6. This emphasis may be a sign that John's accession was not viewed with favour in the eyes of his contemporaries. Conspiracies at the very beginning of his reign (34, 21-27; §XXIII) also indicate that his was not a smooth accession. On this subject see Angold, Byzantine Government, 41. John's coronation must have taken place by the autumn of 1222, the date of the Patriarch Manuel's death.

32, 15-16. Michael Autoreianos died on 26 August 1214; see V. Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 129-133.

32, 16-18. Theodore Eirenikos played a major role in the administration under the Emperor Alexios III. See Niketas Choniates, CSHB, 652, 23 653, 12; ed. van Dieten, 492, 51-56; Michael Choniates, ed. Lampros, II, 121-122; 585; C. Brand, Byzantium, 146-147; 153. He was ordained sometime after 1204; see N. Choniates, Letter E, van Dieten I, 206-208, esp. 207, 23-30; 211-214; van Dieten II, 175-176, 179. At Nicaea, before elected to the Patriarchal throne, he held the position of chartophylax and the title of ὑπατοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων (Ephraim, 10243-7; Xanthopoulos, PG, CXLVII, 465AB). The latter title suggests that he taught. His patriarchate lasted little over a year and not

six years, as Akropolites states. See Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 133. For the only surviving document issued by Eirenikos as Patriarch see Laurent, Regestes, no. 1219.

32, 19-22. Maximos, abbot of the monastery τῶν Ἀχοιμῆτων, was the Emperor Theodore's confessor (πνευματικὸς) before he became Patriarch. See N. Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 114-115, 124-125, 129-130. For the monastery τῶν Ἀχοιμῆτων see Janin, Les Eglises et les Monastères, 13-15. For the circumstances of Maximos' appointment see E. Kurtz, 'Tri Sinodalnykh Gramoty Mitropolita Efesskago Nikolaia Mesarita', VV 12 (1906), 103-105. Akropolites and Xanthopoulos are critical of Maximos' abilities, Xanthopoulos saying that he was 'uneducated' (PG, CXLVII, 465B).

A scribal note in Escorial Y-I-4 (f. 234 v), listing all the Patriarchs at Nicaea, states that after Eirenikos came ὁ μερισμὸς. See S. Lampros, NH 7 (1910), 134, no. 27. This has been thought to be a reference to Maximos' surname or nickname or, a scribal error, for the name Maximos; see Oikonomidès, 'Cinq Actes', 129, note 21; Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 135, note 25. However, it is possible that the expression refers to the ecclesiastical division between the churches of Nicaea and Epiros which took place at about this time. See Karpozilos, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 53, for the date. The author of the note may have been ignorant of Maximos' patriarchate which lasted only a few months (June-December 1216).

32, 22-24. Manuel I Sarantenos (1217-1222) is probably Manuel Karantenos μαΐστωρ τῶν φιλοσόφων in the late twelfth century. See Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 136; R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople', B 32 (1962), 198-200. Xanthopoulos calls Manuel a 'philosopher' as does Akropolites (PG, CXLVII, 465C). This epithet was generally given to monks, men who had knowledge of the truths of Christianity; see F. Dölger, 'Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und

φιλοσοφία ! , Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt (Ettal, 1953), 197-208. But in Manuel's case, as we have no indication that he was a monk, the name philosophos should perhaps be interpreted more literally, as an indication of his former position as μάστωρ τῶν φιλοσόφων .

XX. 32, 26-33, 1. For John Asen II see above 21, 4-5; 24, 7-9. Alexander is not mentioned in any other Greek source. But see Aubry of Trois Fontaines (927, 5-7): Alexander et Alsenz nepotes fuerunt Buril .

33, 3-6. Above (24, 9) Akropolites says that John Asen II went to live among the Cumans but here he says περὶ τὰ τῶν 'Ρώσων. Asen's place of refuge must have been north of the Danube, possibly in Galicia, where Cumans were settled. See Gregoras I, 15, 2-3; Ephraim 8053-4: πρὸς Σκυθὰς παριστρέουσ/ εἴτα Σκυθικὸν 'Ρωσικὸν λαβὼν στέφος. See also, A. Soloviev, ' 'Η Ἐξω 'Ρωσία', B 13 (1938), 227-232; Zlatarski, Istorija III, 322-323.

33, 6-12. Akropolites' account (repeated by Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 468, 11-19 and Ephraim, 8055-58) seems to be the only one for the conflict between Boril and John Asen. His source is unknown.

Asen II defeated Boril in 1218, as an inscription in the church of the Forty Martyrs in Trnovo reveals. See Jireček, Geschichte der Bulgaren, 251-252. Akropolites is probably not well informed about the duration of the siege. Prinzing (Bedeutung, 136, note 81) has suggested a seven month period instead of seven years. See also Zlatarsky, Istoriâ, III, 322-323.

XXI. 33, 16-19. Theodore conquered territory from the Bulgarians and Latins in Macedonia and Thessaly. Ochrid, Prilep, Dibra and Prosek were liberated from the Bulgarians by 1219. See Apokaukos' letters of congratulations to Theodore which are a record of the latter's victories: 'Epirotika', ed. Vasilievsky, 244-246. Theodore gradually

reduced the area of Latin control to Thessalonike itself. On the conquests of Neopatras, Platamon, Serres see 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 243-244, 246-248, 276; Nicol, Despotate, 57-59. Theodore began his attacks on Thessalonike in 1220. Forces which the Pope Honorius raised in the west did not succeed in reaching the city before Theodore took it, late in 1224. See Richard of San Germano, 119-120; Pressutti, Regesta, nos. 5304, 5305; J. Longnon, 'La Reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224', Actes du VIe Congrès Internationale d'Etudes Byzantines I (Paris, 1950), 141-146; B. Sinogowitz, 'Zur Eroberung Thessalonikes im Herbst 1224', BZ 45 (1952), 28. Coins depicting St. Demetrios presenting a walled town with three towers to Theodore, date to his conquest of the city; see Hendy, Coinage and Money, 267-268; pl. 37.

33, 19-20. Theodore was proclaimed Emperor shortly after his conquest of Thessalonike in 1224. See Apokaukos' letter of congratulations to him: 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 286-288. In response to Theodore's assumption of imperial authority, a synodal letter was drawn up by forty bishops in Asia Minor notifying Theodore that he must lay aside the purple for there could not be two Emperors among them; see Nikephoros Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 14, 17-22; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1239. In turn, a synodal letter was issued by the ecclesiastical heads of Epiros (before March 1225), publishing the reasons why the clergy, army and senate had deemed Theodore worthy of the imperial dignity.: 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 285-286.

33, 20-34, 1. Constantine Mesopotamites was appointed Metropolitan of Thessalonike in 1196-1197 after a career as ἐπί τοῦ κανικλῆς under the Emperors Isaac II and Alexios III. He was relieved of his position as Metropolitan in 1197 and reinstated sometime between 1198-1204, only to be dispossessed of his see by the Latins. See Choniates, CSHB, 648, 1-652, 23; ed. van Dieten, 483, 47-492, 50; van Dieten I, 204-206; van Dieten II, 123-124; V. Laurent, 'La Succession épiscopale de la Né-

tropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle', BZ 56 (1963), 285-286; 288-292; J. Spieser, 'Les Inscriptions de Thessalonique', Travaux et Mémoires 5 (1973), 166. Theodore Komnenos reinstated him when he reconquered Thessalonike from the Latins: 'Epirotika'.ed. Vasilievsky, 280-281.

The reason for Mesopotamites' refusal to crown Theodore is not known. Perhaps he believed that this act was reserved for the Patriarch. The claim that he was forced to leave his see as a result of his refusal was apparently made also by the Patriarch at Nicaea at the time, Germanos. A letter of George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, denies the charge; see Loenertz, 'Lettre', 111-112.

34,1. Demetrios Chomatenos was appointed Archbishop of Ochrid in 1216/7 upon Theodore's conquest of the city. See above 25,11-12 for the conquest of Ochrid and M. Drinov, 'O Nĕkotorykh Trudakh Dimitrifa Khomatiana kak istoricheskoe Materialie', VV 1 (1894), 332, for the date of his appointment. He succeeded John Kamateros (not to be confused with the Patriarch) in this position who appears to have fled to Asia Minor after 1204 as he is a signatory of a synodal act of 1213 issued by the Patriarchate at Nicaea. See Choniates, CSHB, 355,10-12; ed. van Dieten, 274,27-28; Gelzer, Der Patriarchat von Achrida, 11; A. Pavlov, 'Sinodalnaia Gramota 1213 goda o brakie grecheskago imperatora s docheriu armianskago kniazia', VV 4 (1897), 166.

The seat of the Bulgarian Patriarchate was established at Ochrid by Samuel. After Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria, Ochrid was recognised as an Archbishopric while the head of the Bulgarian church at Ochrid was called ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πάσης Βουλγαρίας and had jurisdiction over thirty bishoprics; see Skylitzes, CSHB, II, 468, 6-9; ed. Thurn, 358,14. During Chomatenos' tenure of office the title 'Archbishop of Bulgaria' was an empty one since Demetrios had ecclesiastical jurisdiction only over the parts of Bulgaria subject to Theodore Komnenos (see 33,16-19)

34,2. Theodore's coronation date has now been assigned to the spring/summer of 1227 on the basis of some unpublished letters by John Apokaukos. See H. Bees-Sepherles, Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 21 (1971-1976), 272-279. For the protests of the Patriarch at Nicaea see Chomatenos' correspondence: ed. Pitra, 484, 487-488.

The word diadema (band, fillet), used of the imperial crown, is misleading with regard to its shape. Representations of the crown which survive show that it was hemispherical and had strings of jewels suspended from either side. See on 19, 23-24.

34,2-4. Chomatenos himself claimed the right to crown and anoint Emperors as 'Archbishop of Prima Justiniana and Bulgaria'. This title had been adopted in the mid-twelfth century by an Archbishop of Ochrid who identified the archbishopric of Ochrid with Justiniana Prima because of the higher prestige of the latter. See H. Gelzer, Der Patriarchat von Achrida, 8-9; Zlatarski, 'Prima Justiniana im Titel des Bulgarischen Erzbishops', BZ 30 (1929-1930), 484-489. The Emperor Justinian had decreed Justiniana Prima autonomous in the matter of appointing bishops. However, it appears that the privilege of crowning and anointing Emperors was not granted to Justiniana Prima but was concocted by Chomatenos to strengthen his argument against the Patriarch at Nicaea. See Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, 494-495; Gregoras I, 26, 11-16; Karpozilos, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 73, note 23. Justiniana Prima is thought to be Tsaritsin Grad near Niš, north-east of Ochrid. See C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'Justiniana Prima (Tsaritsin Grad): a Sixth Century City in Southern Serbia', Antiquity 28 (1954), no. 109, 15-18.

Anointment of an Emperor was part of the ecclesiastical coronation rite from the twelfth century at least. See now D.M. Nicol, 'Kaisersalbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual', Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 2(1976), 37-52.

34, 5-8. Theodore gave his brothers Manuel and Constantine the title of Despot. For Manuel as Despot see note on 43, 19-23; for Constantine see below 65,2; 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 298; Ferjancic, Despoti, 60. Theodore's bestowal of the Despotic rank on his brothers presents a departure from the earlier practice of granting the title to imperial sons-in-law who were considered heirs apparent. See Ferjančić, Despoti, 58-61. The title of sebastokrator was usually bestowed on the brothers of Emperors. For this see below on 34,22-26. The Emperors at Nicaea did not depart from twelfth century custom in the bestowal of the title of Despot (see on 88,15-16). It is perhaps for just this sort of practice that Akropolites criticises Theodore; see on 34, 8-12.

34, 8-12. Akropolites' reference to Theodore's Bulgarian manner of dealing with imperial affairs is perhaps an allusion to Chomatenos, the Archbishop of Bulgaria who crowned Theodore. However, Akropolites' remark is also possibly an allusion to Theodore's usurpation of imperial power in which he resembled Bulgarian rulers such as Asen (18, 23-25), his brother Kalojan (21,6) and his cousin Boril (24,5-7) who, from the Byzantine (Nicaean) point of view, had no right to wear the crown or imitate Byzantine imperial customs. For Bulgarian imitation of Byzantine practices see I. Goschew, 'Zur Frage der Krönungszeremonien und die Zeremonielle Gewandung der Byzantinischen und der Bulgarischen Herrscher im Mittelalter', BB 2 (1966), 145-168, esp. 158, note 35.

34, 13-16. Only Akropolites (Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 469, 6-9; Ephraim, 7963-66) refer to this offer made by the Emperor John.

XXII. 34, 17-21. What Akropolites says here suggests that the reason for the outbreak of war with the Latins was the Emperor John's wish to extend the boundaries of his Empire. This reason for hostilities with the Latins is repeated by Akropolites in his Epitaphios for the same Emperor (Opera II, 16,17-27). However, Gregoras (I, 25,3-7) states

that Theodore's brothers took the lead in the offensive, see below 34,23-26. By giving the Emperor John credit for initiating hostilities Akropolites is shifting attention away from the brothers of the Emperor Theodore and the fact that John's accession to the throne was being challenged, see note on 32,12-14. Gregoras' version of events is probably closer to the truth.

34,22-26. Theodore Laskaris had at least six brothers. Akropolites names only four of them: Alexios and Isaac (34,22-23; 35,11); Michael and Manuel (109,9-11 and ff.). A George is mentioned in a document from the Cartulary of Lembos (MM,IV,35) and may be the unnamed brother who was taken prisoner by the Latins at the siege of Lentiana (above 29,3). For Constantine Laskaris see on 10,21-23. The honorary title of sebastokrator, created by the Emperor Alexios I, was often bestowed on brothers of the Emperor. See R. Guillard, Recherches, I, 5; II, 280, 283.

Akropolites does not give the reason for the defection of the Laskaris brothers to the Latins but Gregoras elaborates: 'they were driven by envy and great jealousy because they had not become successors to the throne' (I,25,3-7). Isaac and Alexios probably hoped to use Eudokia as bait in obtaining the Latin Emperor's support against the Emperor John. She had been promised in marriage to Robert before the Emperor Theodore's death. See above 31,2-11.

34,27-35,1. The battle took place in 1224. Poimanenon, south-west of Cyzicus, was in a part of Asia Minor still under Latin control, in accordance with the treaty signed by Henry and Theodore after the campaign of 1211/1212 (above 27,21-28,2). The church of the Archangel Michael, referred to here as the church of 'the commander-in-chief of the forces on high', was remembered long after the battle as the site of the Emperor's victory. See the 1230 tome of the Patriarch Germanos (ed. J. Nicole, REG 7 (1894), 77,3-4) and the fourteenth century 'Life' of the Emperor John (ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 222,3-23, esp. 222,6-7).

35,12-17. Theodore Komnenos had been in possession of Serres (or $\Phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\alpha\iota$: Kantakouzenos, I, 542,6) since 1222. See 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 276; Nicol, Despotate, 58-59. For the Latin forces there see Philippe Mouskes, 23180-87; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 162-3.

36,9. These towns are in the area of lake Aphnitis. See Ramsay, Historical Geography, 158.

36,9-12. Akropolites gives the impression that a Nicaean fleet was first built under the Emperor John. However, Theodore I's naval power was considerable, although he used it mainly for purposes of defence in the Propontis and along the Aegean coast. See Choniates, CSHB, 842,6-8; ed. van Dieten, 638,64-65; Villehardouin, 463,476,479; letter of the Emperor Henry :ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 412,40-42; 424-425; treaty (1219) of Theodore I with the Venetians: TT, II, 207; letters of Michael Choniates, ed. Lampros, II, 150, 159, 259; Ahrweiler, Byzance et la Mer, 304-316.

For Holkos, on the shore of Asia Minor between Parium and Lampsakos, see W. Tomaschek, Zur Historischen Topographie von Kleinasien, 15. According to Skoutariotes, the Emperor John stationed galleys there to trap boats coming through the straits of the Hellespont on their way to Constantinople (Additamenta, no. 23; ed. Sathas, 470,20-22).

36,13-15. The Emperor John did not actually capture these places on the southern shore of the Chersonese until 1235. See below 50,12-16; 51, 13-16.

XXIII. 36,16-23. The conspiracy took place in 1224 since Akropolites says that the Emperor was fighting the Latins at the time ; see on 34, 27-35,1.

The Nestongos (or Nostongos) family was one of the most prominent in the Empire of Nicaea. Pachymores includes them in his list of the $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma \sigma\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}$ (I, 65,9-11). Members of the family are

particularly in evidence in the reign of the Emperor Theodore II who is said to have had such a high opinion of a George Nestongos that he planned to give him one of his daughters in marriage (Pachymeres I, 65, 12-17). For other Nestongoi see below 115,6-7; 142,10-11. The Andronikos and Isaac of the conspiracy are known only from this passage. On the Nestongoi see Polemis, Doukai, 150-151; Angold, Byzantine Government, 69,82; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 173.

36,24-37,2. With the exception of the Phlamoulai and Stasenoi, the families of the participants in the plot are known from other sources for the period. For the Tarchanelotai see on 55,15-16; the Makrenoi, see below 90,6; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 146-7; Synadenoi : Polemis, Doukai, 178-9; Ch. Hannick, G. Schmalzbauer, 'Die Synadenoi', JÖB 25 (1976), 125-161, esp. 132-133. The Synadenos of the conspiracy is perhaps the man who was taken captive by the Emperor Theodore I in the battle at Nicomedia against David Komnenos of Trebizond; see Choniates, CSHB, 828, 11-18; ed. van Dieten, 626, 64-71.

The hetaireiarches was in command of the ἐταίρεία, the Emperor's body-guard. The title was usually conferred on men with military careers. See P. Karlin-Hayter, 'L'Hétériarque', JÖB 23 (1974), 101-143 esp. 132. P. Karlin-Hayter is mistaken in saying that the megas hetaireiarches was Makrenos. It is clear from this passage (36,24-25) that Phlamoules was so entitled. For other holders of this title at Nicaea see below, 40,19-20; 67,10.

37,4-6. Lampsakos, on the Asia Minor coast of the Hellespont, was the site of one of the two major shipyards of the Nicaean Empire. See Ahrweiler, Byzanz et la Mer, 315-316; below 45,19.

37,7. The fortress of Achyraous near Adramyttion was subject to the Latins probably until the 1224 hostilities between the Emperor John and the Latins as a result of which the Emperor John gained control of

towns in north-west Asia Minor. See above 36,8-9.

37, 8-15. Treason was punishable by death and confiscation of property. See Z. von Lienthal, Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Rechts (Berlin, 1892), 336-337. The Emperor's philanthropia in dealing with the conspirators is eulogised in his fourteenth century 'Life' (ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 226-227), as well as by Akropolites in his Epitaphios for the Emperor (Opera II, 22,1-25).

37,16-25. Magnesia (Manisa) in Lydia, not to be confused with its namesake on the Maiander river, was a major stronghold which housed the treasury and served as the functional capital of the Empire. See note below on 159,13-15. The fortifications at Magnesia, parts of which still remain, are thought to date to the time of the Nicaean Empire.

38,4-5. Akropolites is consistently favourable to the Empress Eirene. See below 52, 14-15. Mention is made here of her imperial manner, perhaps in order to stress the Emperor John's lawful claim to the throne in view of his marriage to an Emperor's daughter. The two conspiracies at the outset of John's reign point to the difficulties he experienced in his accession. See on 32, 12-14.

XXIV. 38,6. The agreement mentioned is the treaty concluded between the Emperor John and Robert of Courtenay in c. 1225 to end the hostilities initiated in 1224 by Theodore Laskaris' brothers. See 34-36. Akropolites' account of that campaign is resumed here after the interruption made to relate the conspiracy against the Emperor. See 36,16-18.

38,7. Pegai ('Espigal', Spigacius', in western sources), a port on the Hellespont west of Cyzicus, at the mouth of the Granikos river, had a large Latin population even before the Fourth Crusade. Both Greek and Latin sources attest to this: Villehardouin, 305; Choniates, CSHB, 795,18-19 ed. van Dieten, 601,79-80; Skoutariotes, Additamenta, no.2; ed. Sathas, 452, 18-21. Pegai was one of the first places in Asia Minor which the

Latins occupied after their conquest of Constantinople (Villehardouin, 305) but by 1211/1212 it was their only remaining possession in Asia Minor. See the Emperor Henry's letter of 1212: ante civitatem Snigacii, quam illuc solam habebamus (ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 415, 101-102; 429). The Latins made one more attempt to take it under John of Brienne. For this see below XXX.

38, 12-15. The appeal of the people of Adrianople to the Emperor John probably took place some time in 1224, since Akropolites describes it as happening before the settlement of terms between the Latins and the Emperor John. Adrianople changed hands several times in the period 1204-1224 and provides an example of the independent attitude of the inhabitants of Byzantine towns with regard to choice of ruler, something which was to become prevalent in the civil wars of the fourteenth century. The inhabitants would accept anyone who could give them protection and maintenance of their economic situation. See Akropolites' comment to this effect below 167, 20-24 and the case of Melnik, §XLII. See also Angold, Byzantine Government, 287.

38, 15-17. The protostrator John Ises is mentioned in an act of 1236: MM, VI, 181, 190; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1755. For the title see on 20, 15-16.

John Kammytzes may be related to Manuel Kammytzes, the cousin of, and protostrator under, Isaac II and Alexios III. For him see on 20, 15-16. A Kammytzes, probably a relation of John, is mentioned in a letter of the Emperor Theodore II: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 222, 2.

38, 17-22. 'Macedonia' is most often used by Byzantine writers to refer to present day western Thrace, from the Nestos to the Hebros rivers. See K. Amantos, EEBS 1 (1924), 44-45; P. Koledarov, BB 4 (1973), 148-149. However, in this passage Akropolites must be referring to eastern Thrace since the area west of the Hebros was in the control of Theodore Komnenos. See also above 23, 3-12 where Akropolites seems to be using the name Macedonia to refer to the whole of modern Thrace.

38,23. Achridos, the name which Akropolites gives to the entire Rhodope mountain range (l. 23), is Slavic in origin and is not to be confused with the town of Ochrid ('Αχρῶς, 'Αχρῶδα), although probably a form of the same name meaning 'built on rock' (see on 25,11-12). The toponymic, it seems, was once the name of a town in the Rhodope which came to be applied to a region. This can be deduced from a seal of a bishop 'Αχρῖ(δ)οῦ (11/12th century) published by V. Laurent who suggested that the bishopric of 'Αχρῖδός was a place of 'unknown location' in the Rhodope and was attached to the Metropolis of Philippoupolis; see V. Laurent, Corpus VI, 522-523. Now see C. Asdracha, La Région, 10-11, who does not, however, suggest that Achridos was originally the name of a town.

38,24. Melenikon (present day Melnik), south-west of the Pirin mountains, between the Roupel (below 115,27) and Kresna defiles, is a few kilometers from the Greek-Bulgarian border. According to one theory, the name is thought to derive from the Slavic mel, sandstone, limestone. See H. Grégoire, 'Encore les Melniki-Melingi', B 21 (1951), 280. This etymology is convincing since Melnik is located on, and surrounded by, sedimentary rock formations which have eroded to form irregular, jagged crevasses. It was therefore impossible to attack as Akropolites (39,5-7) and Skylitzes before him remarked (CSHB II, 460,7-10; ed. Thurn, 351,83-85). For the history of Melnik see I. Dujčev, 'Melnik au Moyen Age', B 38 (1968), 28-41; I. Vlachos, Die Geschichte der Byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon (Thessalonike, 1969); also below XLIV.

39,1. Alexios Sthlavos or Slav (Esclas, Esclave, in western sources) was a distant relative of Asen, a cousin of Asen's cousin Boril. See Henry of Valenciennes, ed. Longnon, 505. For his name see Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, II, 233.

39,2-4. Henry of Valenciennes is the source for relations between Slav and the Emperor Henry. Slav, unable to maintain his independence after the victorious Latin battle against Boril at Philippoupolis in 1208,

approached the Emperor Henry and became his vassal (ed. Longnon, 546). In return Henry pledged to give Slav 'toute le conquete ke nous avons faite ichi' and his daughter in marriage (547-548). See also Henry's letter of 1212 in which he refers to Sclavo, genero nostro (ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 418,1). That Slav was made Despot is known from his sigillion of 1220 for the monastery of the Virgin Speleotissa, signed in black ink, 'Αλέξιος Δεσπότης ὁ Σολάβος (edd. J. Papadopoulos, A. Vatopedinos, SBAN 45 (1933), 6; Vlachos, Die Geschichte, 12; Ferjančić, Despoti, 33-34.

39,5-7. Slav's establishment in Melnik is documented by his sigillion of 1220 which serves as a terminus ante quem. Slav had been based at Tzepaina, fifty kilometers west of Philippopolis, from which he transferred his residence to Melnik, perhaps after his agreement with the Emperor Henry. See Papadopoulos, Vatopedinos, SBAN 45 (1933), 4 ; Vlachos, Die Geschichte, 70-71; Asdracha, La Région, 241. The extent of Slav's authority would seem to have been limited to the north-west Rhodope mountain region since only Tzepaina and Melnik appear in the sources as his seats of power.

The ruined remains of a three storey brick rectangular structure in Melnik are referred to by the people of the town as 'Slav's house'. The structure has architectural elements of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. See Vlachos, Die Geschichte, 54-56, for a discussion of the building. Another vestige of Slav's residence and authority in the region can perhaps be seen in the name Dospot, the Turkish name for the mountain chain in the north-west Rhodope, at the source of the Nestos river; see Asdracha, La Région, p. 5, note 2 and p. 4 note 10.

39,8. Slav joined forces with Eustace, Henry's brother, and other Latin barons when Boril attacked Thessalonike during Henry's absence in Asia Minor in 1211. See Henry's letter of 1212, ed. Prinzing, 'Der Brief', 417,159-418,2.

39,9. Two pieces of evidence, one a ring found at Trnovo, another an inscription on the wall of the fortress of Stenimachos (Asenovgrad) indicate that Slav became dependent upon his cousin Asen, sometime after 1229. A document of that years refers to Slav and his territory as still distinct from, and independent of, any other powers: THII, 268: totam terram de Esclaves. But the inscription at Stenimachos, dating to 1231, the period of the height of Asen's power, states that Tsar Asen ordered Alexios the sebastos to have the fortress built; see D. Cončev, St. Stoilov, BS 22 (1961), 49. If the Alexios of the inscription is Slav, the inscription shows that Slav was not able to maintain his independence after Asen defeated Theodore Komnenos in 1230. A study of the title of sebastos, based on its use in Bulgarian sources of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, indicates that it was bestowed on important administrative officials, governors of provinces; see P. Petrov, 'O titulakh 'sevast' i 'protosevast' v srednevekovom Bolgarskom Gosudarstve', VV 16 (1959), n.s., 52-62. See also the ring found at Trnovo which bears the inscription, 'Slav Stolnik Carev', 'Slav, Seneschal of the Tsar' (= ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπεζῆς). See J. Ivanov, 'Anneaux anciens bulgares et byzantines' Bulletin de la Société archéologique bulgare 2 (1911), 6; pl. 1, fig. 1.

39,12-15. The name of Slav's second wife, a daughter of John Petraliphas, is not known. Theodore Komnenos' wife, Maria, was a sister of John Petraliphas. For her see Polemis, Doukai, 165; 'Epirotica', ed. Vasilievsky, 282. The Petraliphas family was descended from a Πέτρος τοῦ Ἀλφ-φα who served in the army of Robert Guiscard at the time of his invasion of Epiros in 1082. John Petraliphas, father of Slav's wife, was megas chartoularios under the Emperor John at Nicaea. For him and his offspring see on 58,19; 90,19-21. He should not be confused with his son Theodore (see on 90,12-21) as Heisenberg, 'Index Nominum', 360, and Prinz- ing, Bedeutung, 116, have done.

39,17-18. Mosynoupolis, Xantheia and Gratzianous, situated between the

Nestos and Hebros rivers in modern Thrace, were in Theodore Komnenos' possession by 1224-1225, the terminus post quem for his expedition. See above 39,22-40,1. This can be inferred from Akropolites' use of ἐτέλει (39,18). For Mosynoupolis (ancient Maximianoupolis, modern Messoune) see above 8,20; 9,12; 23,12; Asdracha, La Région, 104-109. Xantheia (modern Xanthi), apparently spared by Kalojan in 1206 (see 23,8-16), became increasingly important in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Asdracha, La Région, 93-96. Gratzianous (or Gratianoupolis) does not seem to have been built on the site of an ancient city and is not mentioned in the sources before the thirteenth century. The present day village of Gratine, ten kilometers to the north-east of Komotine, is at the foot of the hill on which stand, remains of the Byzantine fortress. See Asdracha, La Région, 113-115.

39,18-19. Makre, the name of a mountain and a town (above 23,11) on the Aegaeon coastal strip of Thrace is mentioned by Greek and Latin sources of the thirteenth century: Villehardouin, 382; Henry of Valenciennes, 568. Both Choniates (CSHB, 595,1-2; ed. van Dieten, 452,2) and Akropolites associate the name Stageira with Makre, Choniates saying that Stageira is 'now called' Makre and Akropolites stating that the two toponyms are used interchangeably of the mountain. Asdracha (La Région, 117-8) claims that Choniates is wrong in identifying Stageira with Makre. However since both Choniates and Akropolites make this identification it is possible that Stageira was the ancient name of Makre, especially because both authors speak of the name Makre as if it were a popular or non-classical name: Μάκρην ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί (39,19).

39,22-40,1. Didymoteichon, situated on a tributary of the Hebros river, had been pillaged and destroyed by Kalojan in 1206: Villehardouin, 442-9. The Latins rescued its inhabitants from Kalojan's hands and placed the town (along with Adrianople) in the care of Theodore Branas who held it from the Latins (Villehardouin, 423; Choniates, CSHB, 852-3). It probably

remained in Latin control until Theodore Komnenos took it in 1224-1225. Theodore's expedition through Thrace, related in this passage, probably took place after his conquest of Thessalonike in 1224, and therefore after his proclamation as Emperor. See notes on 33,16-19; 33,19-20.

40,7-17. This incident is related only by Akropolites and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 473,10-18).

41,1-10. Bizye (Visoi in Latin sources; present day Vize), between Adrianople and Constantinople, had been assigned to the Latin Emperor of Constantinople by the Partitio; see Carile, 'Partitio', 217,232-233. τὸ ἔξω ... τοῦ ἄστεος (1.2) is a reference to the unfortified part of the town, lying outside the walls. See G. Lampousiades, 'Ὁδοιπορικόν,' Θρακικά 9 (1938), 55-59. At the time of Theodore's attack on the town, a date anywhere from 1224/5-1229, Bizye could have been under the control of Anselm of Cahieu ('Ασέλ δε Κλέ) who had been appointed to command the Latin garrison there late in 1205: Villehardouin, 403,421. However, Anselm figures prominently in two documents issued by the Latins in Constantinople in 1219 and 1238, in one as head of the barons of the city, in the other as baillie. See TT, II, 214, 346; B. Hendrickx, 'Les Institutions de l'Empire latin de Constantinople', Βυζαντινά 6 (1974), 144-147. It is possible then that Akropolites' mention of him in this passage (1.5) is related to Theodore Komnenos' attack on Constantinople and not Bizye. For Anselm's wife, Eudokia, a daughter of the Emperor Theodore I, see 26,11-13 and note on 85,8-11.

XXV. 41,13-18. Manuel and Maria were married some time between 1225 and 1229, he for the second time; Nicol, Despotate, 104-105. Manuel was married previously to the sister of Stephen II Nemanja, King of Serbia. See the letter of Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, 50-51.

41,18. On Akropolites' use of the name Angelos for Theodore see on 26,6 .

41,19-23. Akropolites seizes the opportunity to point out Theodore's treachery. For the Nicaeans, this was just another example of his perfidy. See the letter of George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, in response to the charge made by the Patriarch at Nicaea that Theodore had violated the oath he swore to Theodore Laskaris: Loenertz, 'Lettre', 116,391 ff.

Gregoras (I, 28,10-14) does not mention the agreement between Asen and Theodore and gives the impression that Asen took the initiative in attacking because he knew Theodore had designs on his territory.

41, 23-24. These 'Italians' were probably western auxiliary forces sent by the Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen. Theodore Komnenos had sent an embassy to Frederick in 1229 with gifts and soldiers. See Richard of San Germano, 162, 164; Auvray, ed., Les Registres de Gregoire IX I (Paris, 1896), no. 332, cols. 203-204; Nicol, Despotate, 107.

42,9-12. The name of the site of the battle is known only from Akropolites and Skoutariotes. The battle at Klokotnitsa, a few kilometers from present day Haskovo, took place in April 1230, according to the commemorative inscription in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Trnovo. See Zlatarsky, Istoriia III, 587-596, with a facsimile of the inscription. For references to the battle in other sources see Gregoras I, 28, 13-14; Richard of San Germano, 166; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 927,5-7.

Until the 1930's the church of Sveti Duh in the fortress near the mineral baths at Haskovo was the site of an annual ceremony on the eve of Pentecost, the feast day of the church, in remembrance of those who died at Klokotnitsa. See R.F. Hoddinott, Bulgaria in Antiquity (London, 1975), 316.

42,12-14. Asen's inscription in the church of the Forty Martyrs (Trnovo) boasts that he took prisoner Theodore Komnenos with all his 'boyars'. See Zlatarsky, Istoriia III, 593.

42,20-21. On documents issued after 1230 and on coins Asen calls himself 'Tsar of the Bulgarians and Greeks'. See Smičiklas, Codex Diplomaticus, III,

no. 296, p. 337; T. Gerasimov, 'Sceaux bulgares en or des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', BS 21 (1960), 61-65. His seals and coins bear the effigy of St. Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike. Hendy (Coinage and Money, 296-297) speculates that these coins, which are similar to those of the empire of Thessalonike, might have been struck after 1230 to be used largely in the territories conquered from Theodore Komnenos.

42,24. Asen's commemorative inscription at Trnovo mentions Adrianople as the easternmost limit of his newly conquered territory: Zlatarsky, Istoriia, 593. A document of 1230 granting trading rights to Dubrovnik includes Didymoteichon as one of the places over which Asen extended the rights: T. Smičiklas, Codex Diplomaticus III, no. 296, p. 337; Thalloczy, Jireček, Sufflay, Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniae Mediae Aetatis I, no. 163, pp. 50-51. Theodore Komnenos had gained control over Adrianople and Didymoteichon after 1224. See note on 39, 22-40,1.

42,25. By Βόλερον ἔπαν the theme of Boleron is meant which included the territory just west of the Nestos to Makri in the east, the southern part of the Rhodope mountains to the north and the Aegean sea to the south. The theme of Boleron was part of the larger tripartite theme of Boleron, Strymon and Thessalonike. See TT, I, 264 (1198 chrysobull of Alexios III); Asdracha, 'Les Rhodopes', 278, for the division of the theme after 1204.

Prilep and Pelagonia (Monastir) are mentioned together in the chrysobull of Alexios III and in the Partitio as constituting a theme (provincia). See TT, I, 262-3; Carile, 'Partitio', 221, 280. Both towns were under Theodore Komnenos' control from early in his tenure of power (see above 25, 11-12).

43,1. The name Μεγάλη Βλαχία appears in the sources for the first time in the thirteenth century with Choniates (CSHB, 841, 14-15; ed. van

Dieten, 638,50), Akropolites (43,1;61,23-25) and Pachymeres (I,83,11), although the toponymic Vlachia, land of the Vlachs, existed from the twelfth century both in western and Byzantine sources as a name for certain regions of Thessaly. The name Vlachia came to be applied to Thessaly because of the large Vlach population settled in its mountainous regions from the time of the Slavic invasions. When the name first appears (in Benjamin of Tudela), it refers to the mountainous regions of south Thessaly, around Mt. Othrys. See G. Soulis, 'The Thessalian Vlachia', Zbornik Radova 8 (1963)= Melanges Georges Ostrogorsky I, 271-3; idem., 'Βλαχία, Μεγάλη Βλαχία, ἡ ἐν Ἑλλάδι Βλαχία,' Τέρας Α. Κεραμοπούλλου (Athens, 1953), 489-497. Again, in the chrysobull of 1198 and in the Partitio, Blachie or Valachie refers to only a part of Thessaly, the southern or western part. The same is true of Choniates' reference to 'the mountainous parts of Thessaly'. Akropolites, then, is the first author to use (Great) Vlachia of the whole of Thessaly, whose boundaries more or less coincided with natural frontiers:(north) Mt. Olympos and Servia, (south) Neopatras and Lamia; (west) Pindos mountains; (east) Aegean sea.

Soulis ('The Thessalian Vlachia', 273) claims that the adjective 'Great' was added to qualify Vlachia in order to distinguish it from 'Small Vlachia' and 'Upper Vlachia' but the sources in which these toponyms appear are all later than the thirteenth century; therefore the name Great Vlachia antedates them and cannot be said to have been created in order to make a distinction from them. See Sphrantzes (ed. Grecu, 128,18; 555,6-7; 18,9-10) where 'Small Vlachia' is used of Thessaly and 'Great' of Rumania.

43.2. Albanon is the name given to the mountainous region on the via Egnatia to the east of Dyrrachion and west of lake Ochrid. In the eleventh century its centre was the upper Shkumbi valley and the fortress of Elbasan but by the thirteenth century the fortress of Kroai, between

the Ishmī and Matī rivers, had become its main fortress. See A. Ducellier, Travaux et Mémoires 3 (1968), 353-368. Akropolites uses 'Albanon' of the entire area; see on 140,3-13. The form of the name Elbanon, as it appears in the Heisenberg text, is unattested. It is clear from Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 474,31) and Ephraim (8092) that Albanon and not the fortress of Elbasan is meant in this passage.

Asen refers to his control of Albanon both in his inscription in the church of the Forty Martyrs at Trnovo (1230) and in his trade agreement with Dubrovnik (1230): Zlatarsky, Istorija, III, 393; Smičiklas, Codex Diplomaticus, 337: ЗЕМА АРБАНАСКЪ. For the history of the area in the thirteenth century see below 91,11-17 and Nicol, Despotate, 152-153.

43,2-3. Akropolites is probably referring to the area north of Epiros. The ancient region of Illyrikon included roughly the area from New Epiros to the Danube. See Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, cols, 1085-1088.

XXVI. 43,18-19. All the sources, except for Akropolites (Ephraim, 8107-8110, and Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 475,8-10) speak of Theodore's blinding without any reference to his plotting. See Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 927,5-7; 933,10; 938,42; Richard of San Germano, 166; Pachymeres I, 82, 9-12. Perhaps this is a touch Akropolites has added to his picture of Theodore's treachery.

43,19-23. Manuel himself did not use the name Angelos but rather, Doukas. See Polemis, Doukai, no. 43. Akropolites makes it clear that Manuel was Despot both before and after 1230 (ll. 20-23). Manuel could have been named Despot by his brother Theodore anytime after the latter's proclamation as Emperor in 1224. Unfortunately, the only document in which Theodore refers to Manuel as Despot carries the indiction number 8, which dates the prostagma to 1219-1220 or 1234-1235. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα IV (St. Petersburg, 1897), 118-119. The earlier

date seems unlikely since Theodore was not yet Emperor while the later date is equally difficult because Theodore was in captivity. B. Ferjančić, Despoti, 59, suggests that the indiction is incorrect.

For Manuel's residence in Thessalonike, his brother's capital, see Chomatenos' account of a lawsuit of a citizen in that city in 1234/1235:ed. Pitra, 451, 461.

43, 24. Signing documents in red ink was a privilege which belonged to the Emperor and was extended to the Despot as well. See Dölger-Karayannopoulos, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre (Munich, 1968), 29-30; Ferjančić, Despoti, 21; Pachymeres, I, 335, 17-18. Manuel's prostagma of 1234 granting trading privileges to the Ragusans is signed in red ink; see MM, III, 66-67; M. Marković, 'Die Byzantinischen Urkunden in Staatsarchiv von Dubrovnik (Ragusa)', Zbornik Radova 1 (1952), 260.

Although Manuel officially held only the title of Despot he minted coins in his name bearing his effigy as Emperor. See Hendy, Coinage and Money, 274-279; pl. 39. His coins, like Theodore Komnenos', represent St. Demetrios holding a walled city labelled πόλις Θεσσαλονίκης.

43, 24-25. The 'ambassador' is probably Christophoros, Bishop of Ankyra, elected by a synod held in Nicaea in 1232 to act as the Patriarch Germanos' plenipotentiary in the west; see MM, III, 65; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1261. Christophoros was sent to Greece in response to Manuel's request that his bishops not travel to Nicaea to have their appointments ratified (MM, III, 61, 64). See E. Kurtz, 'Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II', BZ 16 (1907), 134-136; Nicol, Despotate, 118-122; Karpozilos, Ecclesiastical Controversy, 87-99.

43, 26-44, 1. The 'hymn sung to Christ' is the hymn for the Sunday vesper service 'Σὲ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Δεσπότην/ Ἄγγελοι ἀπαύστως ἁνυμνοῦσιν : Παρακλητικὴ (Rome, 1885), 635; Meliarakes, Ἱστορία 255. The expression βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης applied not only to

Christ but also to Christ's representative on earth, the Emperor. See L. Bréhier, 'L'Origine des titres impériaux à Byzance', BZ 15 (1906), 168, 174. The honorific 'βασιλεὺς καὶ δεσπότης' was appropriate for Manuel because he posed as Emperor and as such was entitled to be called 'Emperor and Lord' but also, and especially (καὶ μᾶλλον) because Manuel was in fact a Despot in the technical sense of the word. The ambassador from Nicaea was no doubt ridiculing Manuel's assumption of imperial privileges and attributes (see on 43,24) although he was only a Despot. Christophoros uses the expression 'Emperor and Lord' of Manuel in a letter to Asen II of Bulgaria: Kurtz, BZ 16 (1907), 141.

44,2-5. The extent of Manuel's territory is not known. See note on 43,5-8 and Nicol, Despotate, 114. For Manuel's marriage to Asen's illegitimate daughter see 41,15-18.

XXVII. 44,6-8. The area of the Latin 'Empire' was reduced to the city of Constantinople and some territory outside it. Those left in the city quarrelled among themselves as to whether they should abandon it entirely (Ernoul, 469). Pope Gregory IX describes the situation in 1229 in a letter to Henry, archbishop of Rheims: status eiusdem imperii debilitatus enormiter tot adversis et diversis impulsibus quateretur: J. van den Gheyn, 'Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'Empire latin de Constantinople', Revue de l'Orient Latin 9 (1902), 230-234, esp. 231.

44,8-10. For an account of the scandal which caused Robert to leave Constantinople and go to the west see Ernoul, 394-5; Dandolo, 291; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 167-168. According to western sources, Robert died in the Peloponnese in 1228, as he was returning to Constantinople, and not in Euboea (Euripos): Dandolo, 291; Ernoul, 395. For 'Euripos', a name which can refer to the island of Euboea, the strait between the island and mainland Greece, or the city of Chalkis on the island see

J. Koder, Negroponte (Vienna, 1973), 45,48.

44, 10-11. Baldwin, son of Iolanda and Peter of Courtenay, was the first of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople to be born in that city. See above 25, 20-22. He was probably in his early teens at the time of this embassy to John of Brienne. See Longnon, L'Empire latin, 157.

44, 11-14. The barons and the baillie of Constantinople sent three ambassadors to John of Brienne in Italy in 1229; see TT,II, 265-270; letter of Pope Gregory IX, ed. J. van den Gheyn, Revue de l'Orient Latin, 9 (1902), 231. John of Brienne had inherited the title to the kingdom of Jerusalem through his wife Marie of Montferrat. See Ernoul, 407, 408-411; L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur, 320. For John's military prowess see Philippe Mouskes (29068-29074).

44, 15-20. The terms of the 1229 agreement between John of Brienne and the Latins in Constantinople confirm what Akropolites says here: TT,II, 265-270. John was to be crowned Emperor and to rule as Emperor with full power his entire life. Akropolites' use of autokrator (l. 16) reflects the term of the agreement that John would have sole imperial power. These stipulations show John's desire to prevent his being displaced by his future son-in-law Baldwin. He had already had one such experience with Frederick II who had married his daughter Isabelle (Ernoul, 450-453; 464-465). Akropolites does not mention the provision of the agreement that John capture all the land in Asia Minor or all the territory held by Theodore Komnenos : TT,II, 267-268; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 170-171.

44, 21-25. Akropolites here for the first time introduces himself into the narrative. He was a boy of fourteen when John of Brienne arrived in Constantinople in 1231 (see below 46, 12-13) and consequently what he says about John's size and age may be exaggerated. No other contemporary source comments on John's appearance except Matthew Paris (II, 396) who says of John, corpus fuit elegantissimus. Akropolites' figure for

John's age has been shown to be wrong by about twenty years. See J.M. Buckley, 'The Problematic Octogenarianism of John of Brienne', Speculum 32 (1957), 315-322, who bases his arguments for a later birth date for John on family documents.

44, 25-45, 3. Although an agreement was reached between John of Brienne and the delegates in 1229, John did not leave for Constantinople until 1231; see Auvray, ed., Registres de Grégoire IX, cols. 175-176; Richard of San Germano, 175; Ernoul, 472. Venetian ships transported him and his men to Constantinople from Venice: TT, II, 277-299; Ernoul, 471-2; Dandolo, 292. For the numbers of the men accompanying John see the terms of the agreement with the Venetians: TT, II, 293-294. There is nothing in the Latin sources to corroborate the reason Akropolites gives for John's sea voyage to Constantinople.

45, 3-16. John of Brienne's agreement of 1231 with the Venetians concerning transport to Constantinople contained a provision that he and his men would be taken either to Constantinople or to the territory of John Batatzes (in terram Vataci): TT, II, 293. From this it is clear that fighting Batatzes was a priority for the Latins in Constantinople. However, John did not leave on the expedition against Batatzes until 1233, as Akropolites says. See 45, 16; note on 46, 13. The reason Akropolites gives, that the renown of Batatzes' military ability was an obstacle to John of Brienne, is not corroborated by any source. Philippe Mouskes does however claim that John of Brienne held back because he was miserly: 'Ila ot este ne sai qans ans...son or garda et ses deniers' (29031-29034 ; 29246-29249).

45, 20-21. The Caesar (Leo) Gabalas (see 86, 3-4 for his name) was in power in Rhodes from 1204 or earlier. Choniates, in listing the independent rulers who had established themselves in various parts of the Empire in 1204, does not mention Gabalas by name but says $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\eta\ \rho\acute{o}\delta\omega\ \tau\eta\ \nu\eta\sigma\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ (CSHB 842, 20-21; ed. van Dieten, 639, 76). Nikephoros Blemmydes gives the impression that Gabalas had

been established at Rhodes for some time. He states that Gabalas had received the authority to rule not from the 'government' (χρᾶτος) but from an 'ancestral inheritance': Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 62,11 ff. While Akropolites uses the word 'rebellion' to explain the cause of the Emperor Batatzes' expedition against Gabalas in 1233, implying an act of aggression on Gabalas' part, Blemmydes says that the Emperor took action because he was angered by Gabalas' independent attitude (ed. Heisenberg, 62, 14-19). It is clear from the contrast in these accounts that Blemmydes was sympathetic to the 'rebel' and was free to express his attitude in his autobiography while Akropolites presents the official point of view. See the Introduction 64-65 .

Leo's title of Caesar is known from narrative sources (Akropolites, 45,20; 46,5; 86,3-4; Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 61,13-14; 62,11), copper coins (G. Schlumberger, Numismatique de l'Orient latin (Paris, 1878), 215; Hendy, Coinage and Money, 296), and from his treaty with the Venetians in 1234 (TT,II, 320: dominus Rhode et Cicladum insularum Ksserus (sic) Leo Gavalla). It has been assumed that the Emperor John Batatzes bestowed this honorific title on Gabalas: Guillard, Recherches, II, 33; N. Oikonomidès, 'La Partitio', 18 and note 40. However, it is possible that Leo received the title from a source other than the Nicaean Emperor with whom he seems never to have been on good terms. If he was established as an independent ruler in Rhodes before 1204, as seems likely from what Blemmydes says (ed. Heisenberg, 62,11 ff) he may have received the title from a Byzantine Emperor before the conquest of Constantinople. Choniates says that the Angeloi bestowed high titles freely, including that of Caesar (CSHB, 749, 17-19; ed. van Dieten, 566, 23-25). However, an even more likely source for the title are the Latin Emperors who are known to have granted Byzantine titles to their subjects, both Latins and Greeks. See on 13,7-8 for the Despot Dandolo; 39,1-3 for the Despot Slav. Theodore Branas, the Greek who cooperated with the Latins in Thrace (Villehardouin, 403) is referred to in a Latin document of 1206 as felicissimum Caesarem (TT, II, 18; Guillard, Recherches, II, 37),

while Choniates does not mention him with any title (CSHB, 664,6; ed. van Dieten, 500,81). See B. Hendrickx, Οἱ Πολιτικοὶ καὶ Στρατιωτικοὶ Θεσμοί, 116. Narjot of Toucy, Branas' son-in-law, is also called cesar in a document of 1228. See R. Predelli, Il Liber Communis detto anche Flegiorum (Venice, 1872), 184. Since Gabalas' collaboration with the Latins is well-attested (see on 46, 3-5), a Latin source for his title would be perfectly appropriate.

XXVIII. 45,22. Staderia, situated on the Knidian peninsula: Pachymeres, I, 311,9; Tomaschek, Kleinasien, 40; F. W. Hasluck, 'Datcha-Stadia-Halikarnassos', The Annual of the British School at Athens 18 (1911/12), 211-212.

45,23-24. Akropolites did not mention this Andronikos Palaiologos earlier as he says he did but rather another man by the same name who was married to Eirene, daughter of the Emperor Theodore I: 26,16-18;29,5. The megas domestikos Andronikos Palaiologos was the father of the Emperor Michael VIII: Pachymeres, I, 222,3-4; below 84,3-5. Gregoras (I, 69, 11-12) says that Andronikos was appointed megas domestikos or general of the armies by Theodore I and that he kept the title under Batatzes. For the title see Guillard, Recherches I, 405-417; Angold, Byzantine Government, 183-184.

45,25-46,3. The expedition discussed here is probably identical with the one alluded to above 45,19-21. See Blemmydes, (Curriculum vitae, ed. Heisenberg, 62,18 ff.) who was on the island at the time of the arrival of the Emperor's forces and describes their actions.

46,3-5. Akropolites is rather vague about the outcome of the campaign, possibly because the Emperor's forces were not completely successful. This is known from Blemmydes who says that Batatzes' men failed to take the capital (at the north-east tip) and instead plundered the land outside the walls (op. cit., 62, 19-23). It is certain that Batatzes' expedition did fail to curtail Gabalas' independence for in 1234, a year later, Gabalas signed a treaty with the Venetians swearing to aid them

in Crete if the Emperor should attack them or if the Greeks on the island should revolt: TT, II, 319-322; Venetiarum Historia, edd. R. Cessi, F. Bennato (Venice, 1964), 157.

Several western chroniclers report that Leo Gabalas fought on the side of the Emperor John in his navy against the Latins in 1235 or 1238: Martino da Canale, 362-364; Dandolo, 295; Venetiarum Historia, 156-157. They may be confusing Leo with another Gabalas, megas droungarios of the fleet (MM, IV, 254-255). There is also a mention of this man in a note dated 1261, written on the title page of a manuscript (cod. Par. gr. 2625). See S. Kougeas, Byzantina-Metabyzantina 1 (1949), 61. On the Gabalas family see now S. Kourouses, Μανουήλ Γαβάλας εἶτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (Athens, 1977), 299-300.

46,11. For Sigrene, between Lampsakos and Pegai, see below, 68,2-9.

XXIX. 46,12. There are no more specific statements about Akropolites' parents apart from these comments. Theodore II confirms that they were from Constantinople; see Markopoulos, EEBS 36 (1968), 113,98. For further discussion of the Akropolitai see the Introduction, 14-25.

46,13. He was born in 1217/18: see below 63,22 where he makes another reference to his age and Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', Opera II, iv, note 2. Therefore, Akropolites went to Nicaea in 1233.

46,14. For the term ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία which I have translated as 'general education' see P. Lemerle, Le Premier Humanisme Byzantin (Paris, 1971), 100, note 88; F. Fuchs, Die höheren Schulen, 41-45. This 'secondary' education included, it seems, study of the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy); see Lemerle, op. cit., 101-102 and Introduction, 34, note 1.

46,16-20. See also 65,17 where δωρεῶν is used of an imperial gift or donation. It would seem, therefore, that these gifts were from the Latins to Akropolites' father. See the Introduction, 16-17.

XXX. 47,7-19. Akropolites' account is the only one, Greek or Latin, to deal with this campaign. Ephraim (8140-8143) and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 476,24-477,25) follow him.

47,21. Since the Latins' movements were confined to the territory between Lampsakos and Pegai (ll. 20-23), Kenchreai is probably located somewhere between those two towns. The fortress by the same name near the Skamander river is too far to the west of Lampsakos to be the place referred to here. See J. Clarke, 'A Proto-Ionic Capital from the Site of Neandrea', American Journal of Archaeology 2 (1886), 140-1; J.M. Cook, The Troad (Oxford, 1973), 288, note 1.

47,24. The fortress of Keramidas was located in the Arctonnesos (Kapu Dag) peninsula, north of Artaki. See F.W. Hasluck, Cyzicus (Cambridge, 1910), 19; Ramsay, Historical Geography, 162.

47,25. Cyzicus, on the narrow strip of land connecting the Arctonnesos peninsula with Asia Minor, was ceded to the Emperor Theodore I in 1207 by the Latin Emperor Henry: Villehardouin, 487, 489; Hasluck, Cyzicus, passim.

48,1-5. The Latins had ceded Pegai, their last possession in Asia Minor, to the Emperor John in 1224: above 38,7. See Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 933 and L'Estoire de L'Empereur Eracles, 382, for brief mentions of John of Brienne's conquest of Pegai.

XXXI. 48, 19-22. Theodore II's birth coincided with the beginning of his father's reign in 1222. See below 104,20-23.

48, 24-49,5. These wedding plans were made in 1233: Dölger, Regesten, no. 1730 and note on 48, 15-24. Ephraim (8160-8171), Gregoras (I, 29, 15-24) and Dandolo (295) attribute to Asen the initiative for the proposal. See G. Cankova-Petkova, BB 3 (1969), 56, for a discussion of the passage.

XXXII. 49,8-9. Akropolites was one of a group of five sent on to advanced instruction. Two of his classmates are known by name: Krateros and Romanos; see Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 29-32.

The frequency with which the sources mention this class of five may be an indication that it was the first officially placed group of students at Nicaea. See the Introduction, 26, note 3.

49,10. Hexapterygos is known only from Akropolites' mention of him and from an unpublished seal in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Acquisition number 58.106.4608; Lead seal; diam.: 24 mm.; field: 15 mm. Good condition; slight chip at bottom.

Obv. Bust of St. Theodore, nimbed; in his right hand a spear; in his left a shield. Inscription in two columns: Ο - ΘΕ - Ο - . - Ω . - . . ;
ὁ ἄγιος Θεόδ[δ]ω[ρος] all within a border of dots.

Rev. Inscription in five lines:

ΕΞΑΠ
ΤΕΡΥΓ
ΦΑΓΙ
ΜΑΘΕΟ
ΔΩΡ

* ΕΞαπ-
τερύγου
σφράγις-
μα Θεο-
δώρου

XII/XIII century; Dodecasyllabic. See Plate 1, figs. 3a, 3b.

Theodore's name, Hexapterygos, perhaps derives from the monastery τῶν Ἑξαπτερυγῶν (Seraphim) in Prousa. For mention of this monastery see Michael VIII's tyrkon for the monastery of St. Demetrios: ed. Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 473; Janin, Les Eglises et les Monastères, 148. Only one other bearer of this name is known to me, a Stephen Hexapterygos from the late twelfth century, the recipient of a letter from Constantine Stilbes. See Krumbacher, Geschichte, 762.

49,17. The σιτηρῆσιον was an income paid either in kind or in coin. See the letter of Gregory of Cyprus complaining that : ὁ πολυ-
θρόλλητος βασιλικὸς σῆτος οὐκ ἐν νομίσμασιν...ἀλλὰ σῆτος σα-
πρὸς ἐπεδόθη ἡμῖν ; see Leontopolis, 'Ἐπιστολαί', Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς
Φάρος 3 (1909), 5.

49, 20-21. For the philosophos, the learned man or intellectual, see I. Ševćenko, 'The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of St. Constantine', For Roman Jakobson (The Hague, 1956), 449-450; F. Dölger, Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt (Ettal, 1953), 197-200.

See the introduction to Blemmydes' Epitome Logike where he discusses the relationship of βασιλεια and φιλοσοφία (PG, CXLII, cols. 688-689).

49, 24-50, 4. Akropolites' statement that Hexapterygos was 'not very learned in the mathematical sciences' indicates that his speciality was not in the τετρακτὺς τῶν μαθημάτων, the quadrivium (astronomy, geometry, music and arithmetic) but rather in those of the trivium, grammar and rhetoric. See the 'Life of Nikephoros' by Ignatios the Deacon (ed. de Boor, (Leipzig, 1880) 149, 27) where the expression ἡ τετρακτὺς τῶν μαθημάτων occurs. Akropolites would have studied these subjects as part of his enkyklios or secondary education (see above on 46, 14) but must have continued to study them in a more detailed and specialised way with Hexapterygos and Blemmydes. Akropolites studied with Hexapterygos for approximately four to five years (1234- c. 1238/9). See below (63, 4-6) where he says that he had just begun to study with Blemmydes (=1239).

50, 4-6. The monk Nikephoros Blemmydes refers to his instruction of these five young men both in his Autobiography and in a letter to the Patriarch in which he refused a request that he take on more students. See Curriculum vitae, ed. Helsenberg, 29, 7-11; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 328, 90-93. His experience with two of the students was so bad that it poisoned him against giving further instruction. See Akropolites' Ερμηνεία (Opera II, 71, 1-4) where he refers to his studies with Blemmydes. See also below on 106, 9-15.

XXXIII. 50, 13-16. Kallioupolis (Gallipoli), on the Hellespont opposite Lampsakos, had been awarded to the Venetians by the terms of the Partitio (Carile, 'Partitio', 219, 42; 252-3). The Emperor John had attacked it in the early 1220's (36, 14-15).

50,16-25. The wedding is dated to 1235: Dölger, Regesten, nos. 1730, 1745, 1746; Gregoras I, 29,24-30,3; van Dieten, Gregoras, 221.

Germanos II succeeded Manuel (above 32,22) as Patriarch in 1223. See Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 136-137; Xanthopoulos, PG, CXLVII, 465 C; Karpozilos, 'An unpublished encomium by Theodore Bishop of Alania', Βυζαντινὰ 6 (1974), 229-249.

50,25-51,3. Asen's uncle, Kalojan, had negotiated with Pope Innocent III as early as 1199 concerning the raising of the Bishop of Trnovo to the status of Patriarch but the Pope recognised him merely as primate. See Wolff, 'The 'Second Bulgarian Empire' ', 190-198. The establishment of the independent Patriarchate of Trnovo in 1235 was probably one of the terms of the alliance between Asen and the Emperor John. Skoutariotes makes clear the political nature of the recognition of the Patriarchate when he states that this favour was extended to Asen in return for his promise to ally himself with the Emperor John in freeing Constantinople (ed. Sathas, 478,22-24; Addimenta, no. 24).

The texts of the imperial and synodal ordinances are lost but they are mentioned in an account appended to the Synodikon of Boril. The Bulgarian account claims that Trnovo was to be equal to the other Patriarchates but a statement of the Patriarch Germanos, inserted into a later act of the Patriarch Kallistos (1355) states that Trnovo was not completely autonomous (MM, II, 438,26-439,19; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1285). For the Synodikon see Popruženko, 84-87; B. St. Angelov, 'Deux Contributions à l'histoire de la culture médiévale bulgare', BB 4 (1973), 75-83.

51,7-20. The joint campaign is related by Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 478, 27-479,15) and Ephraim (8191-8206). Gregoras (I, 30,6-12) does not refer to Asen's part in the expedition.

The precise location of Kissos is not known, although from this passage and below 72,15-17, it appears to be near the Maritza river (Meliarakes, Ἰστορικὰ, 269). The Ganos mountain is to the north of the

town by the same name on the coast of the Propontis (Carile, 'Partitio', 250; Enistulæ, ed. Festa, p. 12,40). Χερρόνησος (l. 20) refers to the Thracian Chersonese: Pauly-Wissowa, RE III, 2242.

51,20-26. Nicholas Kotertzes is not known to us from any other source. Tzouroulos, Churlot in Latin sources, Çorlu today, in eastern Thrace, had been awarded to the Latin Emperor by the Partitio (Carile, 233; Villehardouin, 337,390). See below 55,10.

51,26-52,9. The western sources give a very different account of the attack, or rather attacks. Pope Gregory IX's letter of 1235 to the King of Hungary, Bela, refers to more than one assault: Registres II, ed. Auvray, no. 2872; Longnon, L'Empire latin, 173. According to Philippe Mouskes, John of Brienne was not a mere spectator as Akropolites states but exhibited great courage in the defence of the city (29039-29121). Akropolites' description of John's passivity has a parallel in Choniates' account of Alexios III during the Latin attack of Constantinople: θεατῆς τῶν ὁρωμένων ἑκάθητο, τοὺς ὑπερυξήλους δόμους ἀνιῶν (CSHB, 720,5-7; ed. van Dieten, 544,11-13).

XXXIV. 52,15-20. A Franciscan source describes the condition of Constantinople and its inhabitants at this time: terra Constantinopolis quasi destituta fuit omni presidio: dominus Imperator Ioannes pauper erat. See P.G. Golubovich, 'Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum', Archivum Franciscanum historicum XII (1919), 446.

John of Brienne's death is dated to 1237: Richard of San Germano, 194; Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 941; Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans', Traditio 2 (1944), 216.

52,21-53,21. Since Helen was only nine when she was married (48,24) and her marriage was not consummated (52,10-13) legally she could be separated from her husband. See Chomatenos, an expert in canon law, on this subject who claims that a girl was not required to consummate her marriage until the age of thirteen (ed. Pitra, 59-62).

XXXV. 53,22-25. This invasion of Tatars, a people of mixed Mongolian and Turkic origin, and the Cuman movement south across the Danube (Ister) river can be dated to c.1237. For the Haimos (today Stara Planina), the name for the mountains which have come to be known as the 'Balkans' see J. Cvičilč, La Peninsule Balkanique (Paris, 1918), 3-6. See Choniates who describes in detail the Cumans' use of the κόμοσ or skin bag in crossing rivers (CSHB, 124,5-20; ed. van Dieten, 94,80-92).

53,25-54,1. Pope Gregory IX, in a letter of 1238 to bishops in Hungary, speaks of Asen II's willing reception of the Cumans into his lands: haereticos in terra sua receptabat et defensabat: Registres, ed. Auvray, II, no. 4059. See Asdracha, La Région, 81, for the descendants of these Cumans, and below 65,15-20.

By Macedonia Akropolites means here the area of the theme of Macedonia, which included Adrianople and Philippoupolis. See P. Lemerle, Philippe et la Macédoine Orientale (Paris, 1945), 123.

54,1-8. Judging from this passage it seems that Akropolites distinguishes between the upper course of the river Hebros and its surrounding region and the lower course of the same river which he calls the Maritza. See Asdracha, La Région, 13-14. However, he is not consistent in making this distinction. See 39, 19-20 where he uses the name Hebros with reference to the lower region near the mouth of the river.

Akropolites and other sources comment on the Slavic name Maritza saying that it is a local, popular name; see 51,17-18; 72,17-19; Pachymeres II, 562,7-8. The name first appears in the Typikon of the Kosmosoterra monastery (12th century). See L. Petit, Izvestiia na Russkago Arkeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole 13 (1908), 66,39; 69, 15.

54,14-15. Other sources likewise attest to the strength of the fortifications of Adrianople, Didymoteichon and Bizye. See Choniates, CSHB, 835,5-8; ed. van Dieten, 632,18-20; Villehardouin, 390. Adrianople had two sets of fortifications, one for the acropolis-kastron, the other for

the lower city. Didymoteichon had a double wall surrounding its kastron, whence its name. See Asdracha, La Région, 132, 141. In addition, it is surrounded by water on three sides (like Trnovo) which contributes to its impregnable position.

XXXVI. 55,3-4. See the letters of Pope Gregory to Asen from May 1237: Auvray, Registres II, nos. 3694, 3719.

55,3-7. The Latins also contracted marriage alliances with the Cumans. See Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 947; Jean of Joinville, L'Histoire de Saint Louis, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1867), 331.

55,8-14. The campaign against Tzouroulos must date to 1237 since in that year Pope Gregory was corresponding with Asen concerning his alliance with the Latins while by January 1238 he refers to Asen as perfidus. It seems that Tzouroulos was in Batatzes' control at this time although in 1235 (above 51, 19-22) it was still in Latin hands.

55,15-19. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was from a distinguished family, described as ἐπιφανοί in the thirteenth century sources : 36,24-25; Pachymeres I, 65,10. The Tarchaneiotai owned property in the village of Vare, near Smyrna, but it is not known whether they were property-owners in Asia Minor before 1204. See MM,IV,254, and H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, 'La Politique Agraire', B 28 (1958), 59. Nikephoros probably received the title of mezas domestikos during the reign of Michael VIII; see Pachymeres I, 34,1-2; 127,17-20; Angold, Byzantine Government, 184. The date of his marriage to Maria Palaiologina is not known. (For Andronikos, her father, see above 45,23-24.) She was his second wife: Pachymeres I, 297,8-9. His first wife, a daughter of Andronikos Doukas Aprenos, protostrator, is known from a marginal note to Pachymeres' History (cod. Monac. gr. 442) . See Heisenberg, 'Aus der Geschichte', 11; G.I. Theocharides, 'Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβιάς Τάρχανειώτης,' Ἐπιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 7 (1957), 186-188.

56,14-17. Asen's wife, Maria, was the sister of Bela, King of Hungary (Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 950). They had at least one other son, Kaliman, who succeeded Asen (64, 11-13) and two daughters Helen (48,23-24) and Thamar (64,13-14). The 'bishop of Trnovo' is perhaps a reference to the recently consecrated Patriarch Joachim. See 50, 25-51,3.

56,24. A pun on the name Nikephoros. See also Ephraim 8257.

57,1-15. The reconciliation took place at the end of 1237 or the beginning of 1238: Dölger, Regesten no.1758; Registres II, ed. Auvray, 4059.

XXXVII. 57,20-58,1. At the time of John of Brienne's death in 1237 (above 52,18-20), Baldwin was already in the west asking for aid for the impoverished Latin Empire of Constantinople and was therefore not crowned Emperor until his return to the capital in 1240: Longnon, L'Empire latin, 174-5; 178-9. Baldwin was related to Louis IX through his wife, Marie of Brienne, herself a great niece of Louis' mother, Blanche of Castile. See Philippe Mouskes (29943); Wolff, 'Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople', Speculum 29 (1954),60.

58,2-16. Akropolites' figures are not comparable to those given by Aubry of Trois Fontaines (946) who says that Baldwin left France in 1239 with seven hundred soldiers and thirty thousand horses. Confirmation of the lack of 'resources' mentioned here (58,3-5) is found in a letter of Pope Gregory IX to the count of Brittany asking him to reduce the number of men who were to accompany him to Constantinople because of the magna ... stipendiariorum multitudo (Auvray, Registres, II, no. 4027).

Both Philippe Mouskes (30470-30474) and Aubry of Trois Fontaines (946-7) repeat the itinerary Akropolites gives for the forces.

58,16-18. For the Cumans as allies of the Latins see above 55,4-7.

The town was taken in 1240-1241: Matthew Paris, IV, 54-55.

58,18-59,3. For John Petraliphas see 39,12-15. Tarchaneiotes (55,14-16) had been in command of the fortress at the time of the previous Latin-Cuman-Bulgarian attack. Both men held court titles while performing a military function. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 183, 201. For the title megas chartoularios see Guiland, 'Le Chartulaire et le Grand Chartulaire', Revue des études sud-est européennes 9 (1971), 405-426, especially 419-420. Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 482,31; Additamenta, no. 25) calls Petraliphas a megas hetaireiarches. It is impossible to resolve this discrepancy in the two accounts.

59,4-10. The Emperor John Batatzes had at least two ship building centres, on the Hellespont (36,10-12; 37,4-6) and at Smyrna (87,14-17). The naval tax (ploumos) collected in the area of Smyrna, helped to finance the navy. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 199, 225; MM, IV, 249-253.

By the terms of the treaty made in 1224/1225 between the Emperor John and the Latins (38,6-11), Nicomedia and the area to the west, in the direction of Constantinople, went to the Latins. Charax, Dakibyza and Niketiates are all on the northern coast of the gulf of Nicomedia and to the west of that city. For Charax see Villehardouin, 460; Dakibyza: Ramsay, Historical Geography, 208; Niketiates: Janin, Les Eglises, 94.

59,11-14. The fourteenth century 'Life' of the Emperor John confirms what Akropolites says about the sailors. They were ναῦταις ὁθενδῆποτε some of whom were going to sea for the first time. The author of the 'Life' ascribes the failure of the fleet to this factor (ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 220,1-7).

Iophre is not mentioned in any other source. He was an Armenian, according to Akropolites, with the Latin Christian name of 'Geoffrey'. See Choniates (CShB, 794,3-6; ed. van Dieten, 600,46-49) and below (170,16) for this transliteration of the Latin name. The Armenians who were settled in the Troad of Asia Minor before the thirteenth century are known to have been sympathetic to the Latin conquerors and to have collaborated with them against the Greeks. See Choniates, CShB, 795,17-

20; 796,5-6; ed. van Dieten, 601,79-83;602,1-2; Villehardouin,310; J.M. Cook, The Troad (Oxford, 1973), 377. Iophre could have been the offspring of a marriage between an Armenian and Latin.

59,15. Manuel Kontophre would seem to have been of Latin origin, judging from his surname, the Greek transliteration of 'Godfrey'. He had the honorific title of pansebastos sebastos (MM,IV,249,250; Laurent, 'Ελληνικά 5 (1932),142, no. 240) and was doux of the Thrakesion theme in 1237 and 1240 (MM,IV,249,250; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne',143-144). It is interesting to note that as doux of the theme Kontophre was concerned with the collection of the naval tax (MM,IV,249-253). However he was not doux of the theme when he was in command of the fleet. The two functions were not related in the Nicaean Empire as they were in previous times. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 200, esp. note127.

As in the case of Iophre, Kontophre may not have held the title of mezas doux as the commander of the fleet. At Nicaea command of the fleet was assigned to men with various titles (see 87,17-18).

59,22-60,3. It is not clear whether this naval battle of 1240-1241 took place in the gulf of Nicomedia or outside the walls of Constantinople. The Latin sources claim that the Emperor John lost ten galleys (Dandolo, 298,10-14; Martino da Canale,366) while the 'Life' of the Emperor reports no losses (ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905),220,11-13). See Angold, Byzantine Government, 198 for an account of previous defeats of the Nicaean fleet.

XXXVIII. 60,10-13. Asen's first wife died in 1237. This date is based on the siege of Tzouroulos (56,14-16; see also below 60,19-61,4). His second marriage must have taken place some time between 1237 and 1241, the date of his death (see 64,6). Since he had three children by his second wife, he should have been married to her at least by 1239. See Aubry of Trois Fontaines, 950:secunda...uxor...erat filia Theodori cecī; Zlatarsky, Istoriā, III, 405-406.

60,13-15. Akropolites means that Asen paid no attention to the fact that his daughter was married to his new wife's uncle, Manuel, a marriage which made Asen's marriage to Eirene uncanonical.

60,18-19. See below 64,16-17, where Asen's children by Eirene are said to be Michael, Maria and Anna.

60,19-61,4. The 'reason' for Theodore's release from prison was Asen's marriage to Eirene. See Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 484,9) who is more explicit.

Theodore's release from prison is usually dated to 1237 (Nicol, Despotate, 134). However, this date may have to be changed in light of Aubry of Trois Fontaines' statement (938) that Manuel, privatus, went to Geoffrey of Villehardouin and recognised his suzerainty: privatus fugit ad domnum Gaufridum et factus est homo illius. This information is related under the year 1236 and has been cited by Nicol, Despotate, 125, 127 note 24, but not with reference to Theodore's return to Thessalonike. But if privatus has the meaning of 'deprived of office', 'a private citizen', 'not-imperial' (Lewis and Short; Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, ed. P.E. Lathan (London, 1965) then Manuel went to Geoffrey when he had been expelled from Thessalonike by his brother Theodore. If Manuel had made an agreement with Geoffrey before Theodore's return to Thessalonike, what is the significance of Aubry's privatus? Therefore, if we take Aubry's word literally, the date of Theodore's return from prison will have to be pushed back at least one year. Likewise, the date of Asen's assault on Tzouroulos and his wife's death (56,14-17) will have to be revised (see above 60,10-13).

61,4-9. No documents survive which might have been issued by John during his 'reign' but see the mention of a regium diploma in a letter of George Bardanes, Metropolitan of Corfu, to a clerk of the 'Emperor' John: edd. Hoeck-Loenertz, Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, 227-228. See also his coins (Hendy, Coinage and Money, 279-288) and a seal

reading 'Ιωάννης...πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ 'Ρωμαίων
(Zacos, Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals, I, 1, 105-106).

That Theodore was the real power behind the puppet Emperor John is reflected in a letter of Bardanes in which he refers to Theodore as if he (Bardanes) were dependent on him and not on John:
Unum vero mihi tantum relictum est solatium, domini Theodori imperatoris e captivitate reversi antiqua erga me benevolentia et dilectio
(Hoeck-Loenertz, 228, 22-24).

61,9-17. Only Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 484, 22-30) and Ephraim (8351-8353) relate Theodore's banishment of Manuel to the Turks. For other examples of Greeks who sought refuge among the Turks in this period see A. Ducellier, BF 4 (1972), 47; C. Cahen, Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger I (1966), 145-149.

61,17-22. Relations between the Seljuk Turks and the Empire of Nicaea were apparently friendly at this time, a truce having been made in 1231. See Ibn Natîf, quoted in C. Cahen, 'Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIIIe siècle', Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Seljuk Studies), 3 (1971), 148. It had previously been thought that relations between the Greeks and Turks were peaceful from the time of the battle of Antioch (1210/11) but now see Cahen's reconsideration of this issue, based on Natîf's account (Journal of Seljuk Studies 3 (1971), 147 ff.).

61,23-62,5. Pharsala, Larissa and Platamon, in Thessaly (Great Vlachia: see on 43,1) were presumably under the control of Theodore and John.

Oikeios or oikeios anthropos are words used of a man bound to the Emperor in service (=Latin, familiaris). However, men other than the Emperor could have their own oikeioi. See J. Verpeaux, 'Les Oikeioi. Notes d'Histoire Institutionnelle et Sociale', REB 23 (1965), 91. See also below on 144,20-23.

62,15. The Peloponnese was, for the most part, in the control of Geoffrey (II) of Villehardouin, whose father, nephew of the author of the chronicle of the Fourth Crusade, had originally conquered territory there in 1204; see Villehardouin, 325-326; A. Bon, La Morée Franque (Paris, 1969), 51-80. For Manuel's contact with Geoffrey of Villehardouin at an earlier date, on a different occasion from that mentioned in this passage see above on 60, 19-61,4.

62,16. The Partitio had assigned parts of Euböia (Euripos: see 44,9) to the Venetians and the central area of the island to Boniface, but the lands were ruled by Lombard lords with Venice as overlord. See Carile, 'Partitio', 219; J.B. Bury, Journal of Hellenic Studies 7 (1886), 309-352; J. Koder, Negroponte (Vienna, 1973), 45-46. The agreement Akropolites refers to here may have been made with William of Verona, lord of the southern part of Euböia; he posed some threat to the Komnenos-Doukai since he claimed rights over Thessalonike through his marriage to a relative of Demetrios, ex-king of Thessalonike and son of Boniface of Montferrat and the widow of Isaac II. See Nicol, Despotate, 136; Loenertz, 'Les Seigneurs Tierciers', B 35 (1965), 235-246; esp. 245-246.

XXXIX. 62, 17-19. The usual date given for Manuel's death is 1241: Nicol, Despotate, 136. But see commentary on 64,1-5, for an earlier date.

62,19-23. Eirene's imperial origins are emphasised by Akropolites in his History (above 38,3-5) and in the verses written upon her death by a megas logariastes and attributed to Akropolites. On this see the Introduction, 63. See also the letter addressed to her by the King of Cyprus: τῇ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν σπαργάνων τῆς βασιλείας ἐντραφεῖσα ... καὶ κληρον πατρῶον τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβοῦσα (Lampros, 'Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα', NH 14 (1917), 41). Her imperial upbringing may have been a particularly important subject because of the fact that it was through her that the Emperor John had a right to the throne. She was the link with the last reigning Emperor at Constantinople, Alexios III, her grandfather.

62,23-63,4. The conversation took place in the summer of 1239, since Akropolites says he was twenty-one years old at the time (see above 46, 13 for the date of his birth) and the sun was in Cancer. See Grumel, La chronologie, 467; Heisenberg, Opera II, iv, note 2.

Periklystra is probably Halka Pinar (the Circular Spring) also known as the Baths of Diana, in a suburb of Smyrna, which even in the last century was a popular summer resort. See G. Bean, Aegean Turkey (London, 1966), 46-47; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 37; below 103, 8-10.

63,5-12. The explanation which Akropolites gives for the eclipse is, as he says, one which he learned from Blemmydes. Proof of this is found in a passage of Blemmydes' Epitome or Manuel of Natural Science in which he explains the difference between an eclipse of the sun and that of a moon (PG,CXLII, col. 1265 C). Akropolites' explanation is a paraphrase of Blemmydes' which itself ultimately derives from the second century A.D. astronomer, Cleomedes (Κυκλιμαχῆς Θεωρητὰς Περὶ ὧρων, ed. H. Ziegler (Leipzig, 1891), II, 172). See D. Pingree, DOP 18 (1964), 135 and W. Lackner, BF 4 (1972), 164, on Blemmydes' use of Cleomedes. The Epitome which, as Blemmydes says in his prologue, is meant as an introduction to philosophy for beginning students (PG,CXLII, col. 688) was not actually written until 1258, many years after Blemmydes taught Akropolites. For the date see Mercati, 'Blemmidea', Bessarione 29 (1915), 226-228; Lackner, BF 4 (1972), 162. Akropolites could have written this passage on the eclipse from his memory, notes, or even a copy of Blemmydes' work at hand. Thirteenth century manuscripts of the Epitome are known to have existed: Lackner, BF 4 (1972), 160.

63,13-16. This man is said to be the same Nicholas who wrote the Dynameron, a compilation of prescriptions for drugs which is based on ancient Greek and Arabic texts. The prescriptions contained in this work were in use in France until the seventeenth century: Krumbacher, Geschichte, 615, 620; G.A. Costomiris, REG 10 (1897), 406-414.

Although in the mid-Byzantine period an aktouarios' duties were connected with the taxis of the hippodrome (Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 326-327; Guillard, BS 26 (1965), 4), from at least the thirteenth century aktouarios was a title given to the court doctor. See Pachymeres I, 530, 10; Verpeaux, Pseudo-Kodinos, 337, 122; E. Trapp, 'Die Stellung der Ärzte', BS 33 (1972), 233.

63,18-25. Μωπός has the meaning of 'fool' (moron) and also of 'child'; see Heisenberg, Opera II, vii, note 4; Krumbacher, 'Die Moskauer Sammlung Mittelgriechischen Sprichwörter', Sitzungsberichten der philos.-philol. und histor. Classe der Kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften III (1900), 453. Certainly the Emperor's reply to the comment implies that the word had both meanings and shows the intended pun.

The Empress Eirene's reaction to her statement reflects what the author of the 'Life' of the Emperor John says about her character: 'he could not bear to hear or see anything discordant or ungraceful; moreover she was far from doing anything which was unseemly': ed. Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 218, 34-36.

64,1-5. Eirene's death has been dated to 1241 (Heisenberg, Opera I, 62; Muralt, Essai de Chronologie II, 360) but this date is not secure since it is certain only that she died sometime after the eclipse of the sun in the summer of 1239. See Blemmydes' poem in political verse addressed to the Emperor on the Empress' death: J.B. Bury, 'An Unpublished poem of Nicephorus Blemmydes', BZ 10 (1901), 418-424. In the poem Blemmydes puts a great deal of emphasis on light and darkness in nature, using the analogy of a solar eclipse.

Eirene became a nun shortly before her death. This is known from the verses written for her tomb and ascribed to Akropolites. See Hårdner, BF 4 (1972), 92, 104-108. Her monastic name, Eugenia, is given in a manuscript lemma. See J. Darrouzès, 'Notes d'Asie Mineure', 'Αρχαῖον Πόντου 26 (1964), 28-29. It was previously thought that she was the restorer of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople but the

discovery of her monastic name now makes this identification an impossibility: See Janin, La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin (Paris, 1969), 527; Hørandner, BF 4 (1972), 95-96.

64,6-11. Aubry of Trois Fontaines records Asen's death in 1241 (950).

64,12-14. Kaliman was a Hungarian name which Asen's son presumably, got from his mother. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 147. For Thamar, see also 94,1 ff. Helen, also Asen's daughter by his first marriage, is not mentioned here. For her see 48,23-24; 64,17-20. Aubry of Trois Fontaines claims (950) that in 1241, after Asen's death, a two-year truce was made between the people of Constantinople (Constantinopolitani), Kaliman, the Emperor John Batatzes, and his son (Theodore, II).

64,20-22. Michael Komnenos Doukas was the illegitimate son of Michael I, brother of Theodore, Manuel and Constantine (above 24,19-21; Polemis, Doukai, no. 48). Some events from Michael's early life are known from the thirteenth century 'Life of St. Theodora'. According to this work, Michael was exiled to the Peloponnese after his uncle Theodore's accession to the throne but returned when Theodore was imprisoned by Asen in 1230. Upon his return from the Peloponnese he 'inherited his father's rule'. See Mouxtoxides, Hellenomenon 1 (1843), 44. Other sources furnish evidence that the 'Life's' information may be reliable on this matter. Bartholomeo Scriba mentions Michael as one of the people with whom Genoese ambassadors negotiated in 1231 (MGH XVIII (1863), 177,29-33). Philippe Houskes mentions a 'Micalis' as one of the enemies of the Latins in Constantinople at about this time (29040). Likewise, a 1236 chrysobull issued by Michael to the people of Corfu, and an horismos of 1237 to the merchants of Ragusa, giving them free access to all ports of Epiros, indicate that Michael was indeed based in Epiros as his father had been. See P. Lemerle Ελληνικά, 4 (1953), 411,414-418; Nicol, Despotate, 133; F. Barisić, 'Pismo Mihaila II Angela Dubrovackom

knezu iz 1237', Zbornik Radova 9 (1966), 1-18.

We do not know what lands Michael took over from Manuel upon his death since the extent of Manuel's territories is nowhere specified. However, that some of Manuel's lands were in Thessaly is known, for Akropolites says that when Manuel returned from Asia Minor he gained control over Pharsala, Larissa and Platamon (62,4-5).

XL. 65,4-14. Only Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 486, 16-25) and Eparaim (8399-8409) give an account of this episode.

Theodore was related to the Emperor John Batatzes through Eirene, Batatzes' wife, who was the granddaughter of the Emperor Alexios III, a first cousin of Theodore. See 13,24-25. Therefore, the Emperor John's use of 'uncle' in addressing Theodore was more a gesture of respect of a young man for an elder than a description of a blood relationship. On this see St. Binon, 'A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue', EZ 38 (1938), 146-155.

65,15-20. The Cumans had been forced to move into Thrace by the Tatar invasions of the late 1230's; see XXXV. Gregoras (I,37,3-9) and Kantakouzenos (I,18,12-15) confirm that Batatzes settled them in the area of the Maiander and in Phrygia. For Cumans in the area of Smyrna see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 26-28; NH, IV, 167. Theodore II Laskaris, in his oration for his father, says that the settlement of Cumans in the east served as a check against the Turks' westward movement (cod. Par. gr. 3048, 14v).

By 'transformed from their wild nature' Akropolites means that the barbarian Cumans (above 55,4) formerly nomads, were settled and 'Romanised'. See Iakobos, Archbishop of Ochrid: 'the nomad Scythian ...shedding his wild nature, assumed a Roman-loving one' (ed. Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina I, 84,23-85,1). However, that their 'transformation' also involved baptism is known from several sources, all official orations:

Akropolites Eotaphios for the Emperor John (Opera II, 24, 14-22);
 Blemmydes' verses on the monastery of Sosandra (Curriculum vitae,
 118, 97-99); Iakobos' oration to the Emperor (Mercati, op. cit., 85, 2):
 Theodore II's Encomium : καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰ θεῖα λουτήρια δίδως
 (cod. Par. gr. 3048, 14v).

65, 23. This expedition should be dated to 1241. See below XLI and
 Dölger, Regesten, no. 1774.

65, 27-28. Christoupolis (Kavalla) on the coast opposite the island of
 Thasos, was described by Villehardouin as one of the strongest forts
 in the world (280). See Lemerle, Philippe, 184-185. Rentina, near
 lake Bolbos, was a day's distance from Thessalonike, according to Kanta-
 kouzenos III, 236, 4-6.

66, 5-8. The name Probatas appears in the sources from the eleventh
 century: Skylitzes, CSHB, 511, 6-7; 513, 21; 527, 1; ed. Thurn, 396, 26;
 398, 80; 409, 83-84; N. Banescu, 'Sceaux Byzantins Trouvés à Silistrie',
B 7 (1932), 326-328. A Theophanes Probatas is mentioned in Eustathios'
 description of the Norman conquest of Thessalonike (ed. S. Kyriakides,
 Eustazio di Tessalonica, La Espugnazione di Tessalonica, Testi e Monu-
 menti V (Palermo, 1961), 92, 34; pp. 174-175). This member of the Proba-
 tas family might well have had possession of the property which was
 still known in the thirteenth century by the toponymic κατὰ τοῦ Προ-
 βατῶ. See also the mention of a George Probatas by Chomatenos (ed.
 Pitra, 287). It cannot, however, be ascertained if he was from Thessalo-
 nike.

Vaikalopoulos locates the 'Orchard of Probatas' to the north-
 east of Thessalonike in an area called χῆλτα δένδρα directly behind
 the acropolis of the city - (Ἀθηνῶν 53 (1949), 22-27). See also
 . Tafrali, Thessalonique des origines au XIVe siècle (Paris, 1919), 226.
 Akropolites' specification of the encampment's distance from Thessalonike
 as about 'eight stades' is not a help in locating the 'orchard of Probatas'
 since it is difficult to know what measurements he is referring to with

the word 'stade'. See E. Schilbach, Byzantinische Metrologie, 32, on this problem and below on 126, 19-20.

66, 14-23. The men Akropolites lists here and describes as ἑταῖροι held prominent positions in the Empire after 1204 as their ancestors had in Constantinople before its conquest. Most of these men could trace their ancestry back to the late eleventh century, if not earlier. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 69-70. They are all mentioned several times by Akropolites in the course of his narrative. Demetrios Tornikes and Andronikos Palaiologos were perhaps the two most important men in the Emperor John's reign, the one an administrator, the other a commander. For Tornikes' family and function see on 90, 20-91, 2. For Palaiologos see on 45, 23; 83, 17-22. Alexios Raoul of Norman ancestry, was a descendant of a Constantine Raoul, sebastos, who played a prominent role under the Angeloi. See Choniates, CSHB, 593, 15-18; ed. van Dieten, 451, 70-73. Choniates singles out ancestors of Palaiologos, Raoul and Petraliphas as men related to the Angeloi rulers who had a say in proclaiming Alexios III Emperor in 1195 (CSHB, 593, 13-19; ed. van Dieten, 451, 70-73). For Alexios Raoul, his family and his position at Nicaea, see S. Fassoulakes, The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(1)es, 2, 4, 13-14, 15-16; below 92, 17-18. For John Petraliphas and his descendants see notes on 39, 12-15; 58, 19; 90, 19-21. Theodore Kontostephanos was from a family which owned extensive property along the Maiander river valley before 1204. See MM, IV, 291; DBIger, Regesten, nos. 1694, 1695; Carile, 'Partitio', 218: Provincia Laodike et Meandri...cum Kontostephanatis. After Theodore, who held the honorary title of protosebastos and a military command (below 87, 17-88, 1) during the Emperor John's reign, the family is rarely heard of again; Angold, Byzantine Government, 61-62, 71. A Demetrios Kontostephanos of the late thirteenth, early fourteenth century, is mentioned in a note to cod. Vat. gr. 307.: I. Mercati, F. de' Cavallieri, Codices Vaticani Graeci I (Rome, 1923), 456. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes is the only man in this list whose ancestry is little known. The family seems to have flourished in the thirteenth century; see note on 55, 15-19.

67,1-3. The name Ταχάρτοι which Akropolites uses to refer to the Tatars is a form of the name Τόχαροι (Pachymeres I, 344,13-16) which goes back to Dionysios Periegetes (3 A.D.). See Moravcsik, Byzantino-turcica II, 301, 329. Akropolites calls the Tatars an ἔθνος a word the Byzantines used of a body of foreigners not under the immediate sovereignty of the Byzantine Empire.

The Tatar offensive began in 1242 but the decisive battle at which the Turks were defeated was at Köse Dag in eastern Anatolia, June 1243. See C. Cahen, 'Quelques textes négligés', B 14 (1939), 136; Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 227; Bar Hebraeus, trans. E.A.W. Budge (Oxford, 1942), 406-407; see below 69, 9-70,12.

67,4-10. Theodore II Laskaris, the Emperor John's only child (see Gregoras I, 44,7-12), was not actually crowned and proclaimed Emperor until the Emperor's death. See below 104,19-105,21; 106,6-8; Pachymeres I, 38,10; Gregoras I, 53-54. Pegai, on the Hellespont, was a point of departure for many of Batatzes' campaigns to Europe and was also a major campsite; see 88,21; 175,21-22 and XLI.

John Mouzalon, known only from this mention, was in charge of the Emperor's personal correspondence as mystikos. Angold (Byzantine Government, 161, note 70) suggests that he is the deacon, mystikos and epi tou kanikleiou to whom the Patriarch Germanos addressed two homilies. See Lagopates, 273-287. See also Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 17-18. for reference to a Mouzalon, archon of Nicaea.

Michael Libadarios is perhaps to be identified with the Libadarios who betrayed Philanthropenos to the Emperor Andronikos II in 1296. See Pachymeres I, 65,10. Although this event took place some fifty years after the date to which Akropolites' account refers, Gregoras' statement (I,195,23-25) that Libadarios was an 'old man' in 1296 makes the identification possible. See also Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 164-165. For the title megas hetairiarches see above on 36, 24-37,2.

67,14-25. The account of John's demotion from Emperor to Despot is related only by Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 488,6-25) and Ephraim (8440-8454). It took place sometime in the year 1242 for Akropolites goes on to describe the winter of 1242 (XLI). See Nicol, Despotate, 138-9; Ferjančić, Despoti, 62-63. The Emperor John's bestowal of the title of Despot on John was the first occasion on which an Emperor of Nicaea granted a title to a ruler of Epiros/Thessaly. The bestowal of this title was a noteworthy departure from Nicaean custom in another way. Before 1204, the title of Despot, the highest title an Emperor could bestow, was granted to a son-in-law of the Emperor with the intention that the Despot would succeed the Emperor on the throne. Nicaean Emperors conformed to this practice as strictly as possible. The Emperor John's bestowal of the title on John Komnenos was an exception since no marriage alliance was contracted. For the Emperor John the granting of the title was a means of assuring John's loyalty and obedience to Nicaea. See the coin published by M. Hendy and S. Bendall, 'A Billion Trachy of John Ducas, Emperor, and John Comnenus-Ducas, Despot(?)', Revue Numismatique 12 (1970), 143-148, which, the authors argue, may be commemorative of the Emperor's bestowal of the title of Despot on John Komnenos. However, see now T. Gerasimov, 'Medni Monetina Ioan III Batatzes s Epirskia Despot Michail II', Izvestiia na archeologicheskifa institut 34 (1974), 319-321, who argues that the coin represents the Emperor John and Michael II of Epiros. See below on 88,15-17 for a discussion.

XLI. 68,1. At least from the time of the Emperor John Batatzes' reign the imperial residence was situated at Nymphaion, although the patriarchal throne was at Nicaea. See Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 7,5-7, who discusses the move from Nicaea. For the palace, whose walls are still standing, see S. Eyice, Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses (Munich, 1958), 150-153. The Emperor John was accustomed to spend the winter there: 85,1-2; 124,24-25; 175,24-27. Nymphaion was noted for its mild climate; see Manuel Holobolos' oration to Michael VIII, ed. M. Treu, I, 48, 29-32.

68, 15-16. 1242 not 1232: Heisenberg, 'Notae ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam', Opera I, 306; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1774(=Wirth, Regesten, no. 1774). Heisenberg attributes the error in date to a copyist's mistake, a substitution of an μ for an ν in the date $\varsigma\psi\nu\alpha$ =6751. However it is not likely that Akropolites would have written the date in such a manner, using letters instead of writing out the year long-hand. There is no evidence in the critical apparatus for such a hypothesis. Furthermore this method of expressing the date would have been extremely awkward given Akropolites' use of $\omicron\tilde{\mu}\alpha\iota$ (l. 16). Therefore, it seems that the error should be ascribed to Akropolites' bad memory. He himself shows his hesitation by the use of 'I think'.

68, 20-69, 9. Iathatines is the Greek transliteration of Ghiyath ad-Din (Kaikhusraw II, 1237-1245), son of Kaikobad I (1220-1237) and grandson of Kaikhusraw I (1204-1211). See above 14, 10 ff. For Greek transliteration of Turkish names see a colophon written by a Greek scribe at Caesarea: R.L. Wolff, 'The Lascarids' Asiatic Frontiers Once More', OCP 15 (1949), 196-197. During the reign of Kaikhusraw II, Turkoman revolts in central Anatolia weakened the Seljuk state, thus leaving it unprepared for the Tatars. See Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 216-220; Bar Hebraeus, trans. Budge, 405-406; Simon of Saint Quentin, Histoire des Tartares, ed. J. Richard (Paris, 1965), 62-63; Encyclopaedia of Islam II, 638-639. According to Vincent of Beauvais, the Sultan was under the effects of liquor when he fought at Kuse Dag. See Bibliotheca Mundi (Douai, 1624), p. 1284, Book XXX, chapter 150: soldanus eorius fuerat in nocte praecedenti et adhuc vino aestuabat quando primi bellatores fuerunt devicti. This account confirms Akropolites' characterisation of the Sultan.

69, 10-70, 12. The treaty is dated to the autumn of 1243, after the defeat of Kaikhusraw II: Dölger, Regesten, no. 1776= Wirth, Regesten, pp. 36-37; Encyclopaedia of Islam II, 640-641. There was a major fortress at Tripolis on the Maiander river which was rebuilt by the Emperor John: Pachymeres II, 433, 9-15; Angold, Byzantine Government, 100. This area was on the frontier; see the letter of Theodore II Laskaris where Tripolis is mentioned as the

easternmost boundary of the Nicaean Empire(Epistulae, ed. Festa, 57,33). Philadelphia was another frontier fortress (Pachymeres I, 99,6-16) whose well-armed people were constantly prepared for war with the Turks (below 105,22-26).

XLII. 70,13. John's death is dated to c. 1244 since Akropolites says that he died not long after the treaty between the Sultan and the Emperor John had been concluded (1243); see Dölger, Regesten, no. 1776; 1778 = Wirth, Regesten, pp. 36-37.

70,15-17. No coins of the Despot Demetrios are known. See Hendy, Coinage and Money, 288-289. A fourteenth century inventory of charters from the Chilandar monastery on Mt. Athos describes documents issued by Demetrios as Despot. See A.V. Soloviev, 'Un Inventaire de Documents Byzantins de Chilandar', Seminarium Kondakovianum 10 (1938), no. 9: a chrysobull with a silver seal; no. 39, a prostagma; no. 54, a chrysobull; no. 55, an act (KNHFA).

70,18-71,13. This character sketch is found only in Akropolites, Skoutariotes, (ed. Sathas, 490,6-20) and Ephraim (8469-8480). Demetrios' story is continued below, XLV.

71,15-19. The Tatars sacked and took Bagdad in 1258. See C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 275-278.

71,21-72,2. Patriarch Germanos II died in 1240 and was buried in the church of the Kyriotissa in Nicaea; see Xanthopoulos, PG, CXLVII, 465; Janin, Les Eglises, 113-114. Methodios came to the throne in 1241. No acts are preserved from his three months in office: Ephraim 10264-66; Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 137-138; Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 38-39. For the Hyakinthos monastery see above 17,23. According to Xanthopoulos, Methodios was buried there (PG, CXLVII, 465).

72,2-8. Akropolites again later repeats the opinion that Emperors choose as Patriarchs men who do not oppose them. See below 106,18-107,3 for a discussion of this point of view. Also, Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 42,5-7, for a similar opinion.

XLIII. 72, 9-13. The territories in the west under John Batatzes' authority extended along the Thracian coast and included Kallioupolis, Madyta, the entire Chersonnese, Ganos and Kissos (51,13-18). Pentina (65,29-66,5), taken in 1242, was the farthest west of his European territories at this time (1246). For Zichna, between Serres and Drama, see Meliarakes, 'Ιστορία, 365, note 1; G. Theodorides, Κατεπανχία τῆς Μακεδονίας (Thessalonike, 1954), 60, note 2; Henry of Valenciennes, 572, : 'Gige'.

72, 17-18. The monastery of Veros (τοῦ Βηρός) dedicated to the Kosmosoteira, was founded in 1152 by the sebastokrator Isaac, a son of Alexios I Komnenos. It was with the foundation of the monastery that the region began to be inhabited, as the Typikon itself states; see L. Petit, 'Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos', Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe de Constantinople 13 (1908), 19,6-8. Akropolites qualifies the monastery as τοῦ Βηρός, giving the genitive of the article but leaving the proper name undeclined. He is in fact preserving the original Slavic word βηρ which was used to name the marshy, overgrown region where the monastery was founded: καινίσας φροντιστήριον ἐρημικοῦς τόποις καὶ ἀμφιλαφεί τὸ πρότερον, τοῦς καὶ βηρός καλουμένοις τῇ κοινῇ συνηθείᾳ (Petit, op. cit., 20, 30-31). The name βηρός given to the region at the time of the foundation of the monastery therefore derived from the physical characteristic of the land. With the foundation of the monastery and the growth of population, βηρός became Βήρα, the feminine form for a city or town; it is in this form that the place name appears in the sources of the twelfth century on; see Choniates, CSHB, 363,8; ed. van Dieten, 452,2: τὴν ἐν τῇ Βήρᾳ. Akropolites is the only exception; he keeps the original form of the name. Bera, four to five kilometers from the west bank of the Hebros, is the present day Pherrai. See Carile, 'Partitio', 269-270. For the etymology of βηρός see Vasmer, Die Slaven, p. 23, no. 23; Asdracha, La Région, 125, note, 5.

72,22. Although Dölger (Regesten, nos. 1788, 1789) interprets the date given here as 3-4 September, it is clear that φθινόγοντος refers to the end of the month. The third or fourth day from the end of the month would be the 27th or 28th of September.

The dry season in this region lasts from June to October. See Asdracha, La Région, 21. This explains why the river was βατός for the horses.

72,23-24. Ἀχριδῶν refers to the region which comprises the central Rhodope mountains, extending to the Arda river valley; see above 38,23; Asdracha, La Région, 10. The name appears in the sources in a form which indicates the genitive plural: Akropolites, 72,24; 108,16; 113,11; Pachymeres, I, 335; Anna Komnena I, iv,151, 23. It derives from ἡ Ἀχριδοός, τῆς Ἀχριδοῦς, another name for the Rhodope mountains; see 38,23; 119, 12,15; Choniates, CSHB, 535, 20-21; ed. van Dieten, 409, 38-39. If the reading Ἀχριδῶν, the genitive plural form, is correct, then a word should be understood between the feminine singular article τῆς and Ἀχριδῶν. Heisenberg ('Index Nominum', Opera I, 344) suggests ἡ ἀρχιεπισκοπή but he is confusing the mountain region with the town of Ochrid, the seat of an archbishop. It is more likely that χώρα or some such word should be understood. If, however, the reading Ἀχριδῶν is incorrect, as S. Dragoumis (Βυζαντινὰ 2 (1911-1912), 202-203) has suggested, then the ν should be dropped and the word becomes the dative case of Ἀχριδοός. Heisenberg's critical apparatus shows that this reading is possible. See the apparatus for 72,24; 108,16; 113,11; Skoultariotes, ed. Sathas, 518, 31; 519,3.

The fact that the person mentioned in this passage, the man in charge of 'civil authority' in Achridos, sent a message to the Emperor, has led Asdracha to assume that the area was already in Nicaean control ('Les Rhodopes', 275, ff.). However, it is quite possible that the area was, nominally at least, in the possession of the Bulgarians at the time described in this passage (end of September 1246), even if

central authority was not strong enough to prevent local independence, especially after Asen's death in 1241. The man mentioned in this passage may have been a Greek living under Bulgarian domination. The territory described as Achridos, or the Rhodope mountain region including the Arda river valley, seems to have become subject to Nicaea only in 1246 (see 78, 15-16).

73,1-6. According to N. Muchmov (Monetitie i pechatitie na bŭlgarskite tsare (Sofia, 1924), 71-72), Eirene, Asen's second wife, poisoned Kaliman, Asen's son by another marriage (above 64,13-20) so that her son, Michael, might succeed to the throne. There does not seem to be any evidence for this. See the silver coin of Eirene and her son Michael which Mushmov (Monetitie, 71-72) dates to Eirene's 'regency' (1242-1246).

73,8. τὴν Φιλίππου is not Philippoupolis, as Heisenberg indicates in his 'Index', 365. Akropolites always gives Philippoupolis in its full form (20,14; 21,15; 23,18) and Philippi as Φιλίππου (73,8; 92, 26), the accusative plural acting as the feminine singular. See Lemerle, Philippos, 173, note 1. 184. For Christoupolis (Kavalla) see above 65,28.

73,12. Only Akropolites and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 491, 24-492,1) relate this deliberation. Σέρραι (Θέρραι) had been in the hands of the Bulgarians since 1230 (42,25) when Asen II took it from Theodore Komnenos (35,14).

74,4-6. Michael, Asen's son by marriage to Eirene (above 60,18; 64,15; 73,1-6) was, at the most, ten years old in 1246 since Asen could have married Eirene no earlier than 1236 and no later than 1241 (see on 60, 10-13). A fresco portrait of Michael survives in the church of the Taxiarchs, Kastoria. See A. Orlandos, Βυζαντινὰ Ἱκνημεῖα τῆς Καστοπόλεως (Athens, 1939), 104-105; I. Vera, 'Deux Inscriptions des Assenides', Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 15 (1946), 133, fig. 45.

74,19-26. Villehardouin (392-394) describes the kastron at Serres as being 'very strong' before Kalojan destroyed it in 1205 (see 23,3-4, 8). From Akropolites' description it appears that Serres, before Kalojan's attacks, was like Thessalonike and the large cities of the Empire which preserved a distinction between the lower city (ἡ κάτω πόλις: l. 25) and the kastron on the acropolis (ll. 22-23). Each part had its own fortifications. See Asdracha, La Région, 141-142. Today there is no trace of the walls surrounding the lower part of the city. See A. Kyngopoulos, Ἐρευναι εἰς τὰ Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῶν Σέρρων (Thessalonike, 1965) (= Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν), 5, 10, 18-19, pl. 1, for the town's situation and the remains of the kastron.

Akropolites suggests in his discussion of Serres the πόλις and Serres the κώμη that the difference between a 'city' and a 'village' lay in their size. However, he does not himself hold to this definition and calls places cities or villages interchangeably and indiscriminately, as do other Byzantine writers; see on 121, 25-27.

75,1-2. The etymology of the name Tzouloukones is debated. The word appears only in Akropolites and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 492, 26). The fact that Akropolites does not refer to the word as foreign, as he does in other cases (see 181,11-12; 183,11-12), but qualifies it with ἡ χυδαία γλῶττα κατονομάζει indicates that the word had become incorporated into the popular spoken language. Heisenberg gives it a Slavic derivation: СЛОУТА= СЛОУЛОС ('Notae ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam', Opera I, 307; also F. Miklosich, Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum (Darmstadt, 1963), 859. However, H. Köpstein finds this derivation phonetically unsatisfactory and prefers the Turkish kullukçu; see Antichnaia Drevnost i srednie veka (Sverdlovsk, 1973), 161-166; esp. 164.; H.C. Honey, A Turkish-English Dictionary (Oxford, 1954): '(formerly) Janissary stationed at a guard-house, subaltern in the Janissaries'. Another possible derivation, not suggested by Köpstein, is the Turkic çoluk, children, family, retainers:

New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary (1968), 259. For Turks in the Nicaean army see below 169,3; 170,24. Akropolites mentions the ὑπηρέται of the soldiers again below (122,15-16) but does not name them.

75,9. The χώρα must refer to the κάτω πόλις (74,25) or the κάτω χώρα (75,13), at the foot of the hill, below the fortified acropolis, itself not fortified, according to Akropolites (74,25-75,1). See Asdracha, La Région, 134; 141-142.

75,12-16. Dragotas, military commander of Serres (above 74,23; Ephraim 8492: φύλαξ) may have been in charge there from the time of its conquest by Asen II in 1230 (above 42,25). See 114,22-24; 115,1; 117, 10-11, for Akropolites' comments on the faithlessness of Bulgarians in general and Dragotas, in particular. For the name Dragotas see Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 113.

75,17-18. The purple cloak χρυσῷ συνυφασμένην was probably made of a material woven with purple and gold threads rather than a purple textile embroidered with gold since the earliest embroideries are thought to date from the reign of Andronikos II. See A.M. Talbot, The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople (Washington, D.C., 1975), 377.

76,2. Litovoes is a Slavic name, meaning 'brave warrior' (ЛЮТЫЙ ВОИН) See Kekaumenos, ed. and trans. G. Litavrin, Sovety i Rasskazy Kekavmena (Moscow, 1972), p. 172, 31; 429, note 424. The family's connection with Melnik is confirmed by a document of 1323 which refers to the property of a Litovoes in Melnik; see M. Goudas, 'Βυζαντινά Ἐγγράφα', EEBS 4 (1927), 226-228; esp. 227,3.

N. Laskaris has argued that property of a Constantine Litovoes in Skoplje mentioned in a document of 1299/1300 was property which came into the family's hands in 1246 when the Emperor John Batatzes gave it to Nicholas Litovoes after he gained control of Melnik; see M. Laskaris,

'Cinq Notes a la lipovola de M. Ostrogorski', B 21 (1951), 265-268, esp. 268, note 4; R. Grujić, 'Tri Hilendarske povelje', Zbornik za istoriju juzne srbije 1 (1936), 12: НИВА . . . ЛЮТОВОИ.

But it is probable that this property belonged to the Litovoes family from before 1246, since there is a reference to a George Litovoes, an ἄνθρωπος of Theodore Komnenos who had property at Skoplje in the 1220's (Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, col. 261ff.).

76,5. For the name Manglavites which probably derives from the μαγλα-βῆται, bodyguards of the Emperor mentioned in the sources from the eighth to eleventh centuries, see Du Cange, Glossarium, 846-847; Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 328. Manglavites was undoubtedly a Greek himself. See Asdracha, La Région, 54-55 and note 7. A Serbian document of 1299/1300 mentions the property of a Manglavites in Skoplje. Laskaris claims that this was the gift of the Emperor John in 1246, as in the case of Litovoes; see note on 76,2 with bibliography and G. Ostrogorsky's reply to Laskaris, 'Sur la Pronoia', B 22 (1952), 161-163.

76,11-77,9. Because of its location, Melnik was impregnable. See note on 39,5-7. To conquer by persuasion was the only means open to a would-be conquerer. This fact is demonstrated by the account of the Emperor Basil II's taking of the place. Basil sent Sergios, a man noted for his powers of speech. who, by using 'many persuasive arguments' was able to make the people surrender the fortress: Skylitzes, CSHB II 460,14-17; ed. Thurn, 351, 87-92. The speech which Akropolites puts in the mouth of Manglavites contains arguments which were all true.

(1) Melnik had been in Byzantine hands from Basil II's time until the end of the twelfth century. (2) When Philippoupolis was conquered and destroyed by Kalojan in 1205, many of its inhabitants were enslaved and transferred to other places (above 21,14-16; 23,8-15; Villehardouin, 401). (3) Asen's daughter Helen had been married to Theodore II Laskaris over ten years earlier (50, 21-25). Although the last point lent legitimacy to the inhabitants' choice of the Emperor John as their ruler, considerations of race seem to have outweighed this as a reason for going over to

him. The population of Melnik was largely Greek until its liberation from Turkish rule in the nineteenth century; see Th. Vlachos, Die Geschichte der Byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon (Thessalonike, 1969), 112-116. For a discussion of this speech see Angold, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 1 (1975), 62-64; Asdracha, La Région, 54-55.

77, 14-16. No chrysobull issued by a Nicaean Emperor before 1259 is preserved. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 162; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1789.

77, 17-25. The number 500 seems to be a standard figure given when the exact number could not be remembered or determined; see below 118, 7-9. οἱ κρεῖττονες or the 'better people' are the heads of village peasant families: MM, IV, 81, 82; also expressed in the sources as κρεῖττονες οἰκοδεσποταί. See G. Ostrogorsky, Pour l'histoire de la féodalité (Paris, 1954), 75, 77.

Valavisda has been identified with present day Siderocastron, twenty-eight kilometers north-west of Serres; see Kantakouzenos I, 547; acts of Philotheou: εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν βουνῶν τοῦ Μελενίκου ἐν τῷ κατεπανικτῷ Βαλαβίστης (Actes de Philothée, edd. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korabiev, VV 20 (1913), suppl. 1, 25, 40).

78, 9-25. All the territory mentioned here came under Nicaea's control as a result of direct negotiation with local authorities and not because of a treaty made with Michael Asen. See 78, 23.

11. 14-13. Stenimachos, present day Asenovgrad, and Tzepaina (Čepino) are at the extreme north-west Rhodope region. Alexios Slav ruled at Tzepaina independently, prior to 1220, before moving to Melnik. See note on 38, 22-39, 1. Stenimachos may also have been in his control, at least until 1230. See note on 39, 3. See Asdracha, La Région, 162-166; D. Cončev, St. Stoilov, B3 22 (1961), 20-54; D. Cončev, B3 20 (1959), 285-304, for the archaeological remains of Stenimachos and Tzepaina.

1.18. Stoumpion, present day Stob, south of Sofia on the banks of the Rila river, is notable for its pyramid-like cliffs of sedimentary rock, about ten meters high. See Choniates, CSHB, 569,1; ed. van Dieten, 434,17; Jireček, Geschichte der Bulgaren, 54.

78,19. Dragoumis (Byzantis 2 (1911), 208) suggests that Chotoviča, 6-7 kilometers north of Veles, is the Chotovos of Akropolites' text.

Velevousdion, present day Klustendil (ancient Pautalia) is in the Strymon river valley, near the western frontier of Bulgaria with Yugoslavia. For the various forms of the toponym, from ancient to modern times, see A. Salač, 'La ville de Pautalie dans l'oeuvre de Procope περί κτισμάτων', BS 4 (1932), 131-134.

78,20. Skoplje, in the Vardar river valley, mentioned as a theme in the sources of the period (Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, col. 412; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 281,71) had come into Asen's control in 1230 after the battle of Klokotnitsa. Velesos (Veles) in the Vardar valley, may also have been taken by Asen after Theodore Komnenos' defeat. It changed hands several times after 1246. See notes on 92,1; 118,1.

78,20-22. Prilep, and probably Pelagonia (Bitola), were under Theodore Komnenos until his defeat in 1230 (above 25,12; 42,25). At the time of this treaty (1246) they were in the control of Michael (II) Komnenos Doukas (84,19). It is to be supposed that Prosakos (Prosek), on the Vardar, and Neustapolis (Ovčepolje: see on 118,16), the region between Skoplje and Stip, were also in the hands of the Komneno-Doukas family, although this is not specified.

79,1-7. Heisenberg (Opera II, vii) refers to the documents Akropolites drew up to be sent to the 'conquered' cities and territories as 'chrysobulls'. From the description Akropolites gives, they would appear to have been imperial letters and not chrysobulls: This type of document is mentioned by the Latin Emperor Henry in a letter of 1212 to 'friends' in the west : Qua de causis Isaacus acrior et elatior factus misit litteras

ad omnes Graecorum provincias continentes honorem et lucrum sue
victorie (Prinzling, 'Der Brief', 411,2-3). See also the letter of
the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris to his subjects 'in the east',
announcing his victory over the Bulgarians and the terms of the
peace settlement (Eoistulae, ed. Festa, 279-282). The conquered
territories mentioned above (78,14-22) had, for the most part,
been Byzantine lands taken by the Bulgarians after the Fourth
Crusade. The Emperor John's letters were sent to inform former
Byzantine subjects of his success, i.e. their return to Byzantine
hands. See the Introduction, 38-39, for Akropolites' position
at this time.

XLV. 79,17-23. When John died in 1244, Demetrios sent an embassy to
the Emperor John Batatzes to confirm his right to the despotic rank
(see on 70,15-17).

79, 14-27. The persons mentioned by Akropolites are known to us from
other sources as well. In fact, the degree to which these names appear
in documents in the thirteenth century confirms what is generally thought
about the situation in the European provinces at the time of the Nicaean
conquest, namely, that individuals wielded a great deal of political
power. The 'conquest' of Melnik by Batatzes is a case in point (XLIV).
It can be shown that the families of the conspirators at Thessalonike in
1246 were important figures in that city before the Latin conquest as
well as during Theodore Komnenos' reign. After 1230, the date of Theo-
dore's downfall, they appear to have been in complete control of the
city, especially while Demetrios was Despot. Again, during the Nicaean
occupation and after 1261, the same figures are found in important posi-
tions both in Thessalonike and elsewhere in the Empire.

SPARTENOS, Demetrios (the son: David): He is called sebastos in
an act of Chilandar in which his three sons cede their land in Lozikion
to Chilandar (ed. L. Petit, VV 17 (1910), no. 6, pp. 15-16). By 1265, the
the date of this act, Spartenos was dead (ἀποτυχόμενος). Spartenos

himself owned land in Lozikion, near Thessalonike. This fact is mentioned in his sons' act and also in the title of an entry found in a fourteenth-century inventory of Chilandar: 'act of Spartenos for Lozikion' (ed. Soloviev, 'Inventaire', no. 49, p. 38. Although the act is not preserved, Soloviev dates it to between 1247 (after Nicaean acquisition of Thessalonike) and 1265 (the year of Spartenos' death). However, there seems to be no reason to reject the possibility that Spartenos owned land in Lozikion before 1247 and, therefore, that the land was not necessarily a gift from the Emperor John in return for Spartenos' part in the 'conspiracy'. However, even if this property was not given to Spartenos as a reward, he was given various functions to fulfil by Nicaean Emperors after 1246. In 1256 he was sent on an embassy to Pope Alexander IV by the Emperor Theodore II Laskaris; see Schillmann, Römische Quartalschrift 22 (1908), 110; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1835. In 1262, by request of the Emperor Michael VIII, he was responsible for issuing a praktikon which contains an apographē of the theme of Thessalonike; see F. Dölger, BZ 36 (1936), 201; I. Iberites, 'Η 'Ιερίσσις', Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 17 (1933), 15. To this praktikon was attached a seal which reads 'seal of the sebastos Demetrios Spartenos' (Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 122.2). The family's long-standing importance in Thessalonike is attested by several documents. Spartenos' son John was prokathemenos of Thessalonike (mentioned in a will of the ex-Archbishop of Thessalonike, Theodore Kerameas, 1284), while his grandson, also named Demetrios, is referred to as pansebastos sebastos and oikeios of the Emperor in a donation of Maria Angelina, Spartenos' great granddaughter, in 1304; see Actes de Lavra, edd. Lemerle, Svoronos, Papachrysanthou, II, 32, 135-141.

KAMIPANOS, Nicholas, sebastos: Someone of this name, probably an ancestor of the Kampanos of the 1246 conspiracy, is mentioned in 1180 as the signatory of a σημεῖωσις of the Bishop of Hierissos and Mt. Athos concerning a property dispute; see M. Goudas, ΕΕΒΣ 4 (1927), 215. The

Kampanos of the conspiracy issued an act concerning his property in Lozikion; see Soloviev, 'Inventaire', no. 62, p. 39. However, again, this land may have been in his possession before 1246. By 1262, when Kampanos issued the praktikon along with Spartenos, he was prokathemenos of Thessalonike; see I. Iberites, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμῆς 17 (1933), 15; Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 122.2. Ephraim (8531) calls Kampanos a Sisyphos in character, no doubt referring to Kampanos' greedy ways.

IATROPOULOS: A Demetrios Iatropoulos played an important role in the Nicaean Empire under Theodore II Laskaris and in Constantinople under Michael VIII. He was prokathemenos of Philadelphia, at least during the reign of Theodore II, for he is addressed as such in a letter of the Emperor: Epistulae, ed. Festa, no. 140, p. 197. He was present at the siege of Galata in 1260 and held the honorary title of λογοθέτης τῶν οἰκειακῶν at that time (Pachymeres I, 125,1-2). He is mentioned as such again in a chrysobull of Michael VIII (1275) which confirms the possessions of the monastery of Xeropotamou (Actes de Xeropotamou, ed. J. Bompaire (Paris, 1964), 92,21; 93,59) and in an apophysis of 1295 concerning the priest Platyskalites and Iveron (Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 59/60). Iatropoulos was protasekretis at the trial of Platyskalites which took place in the church of St. Demetrios, Thessalonike, and, therefore, was in charge of the central tribunal or sekreton; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 171; Ševčenko, 'Leon Bardales et les Juges generaux', B 19 (1949), 257. Iatropoulos was also a member of the senate, an indication that he belonged to the civil aristocracy: Pachymeres, I, 377, 9-10; Angold, Byzantine Government, 73. The large difference in dates (1246/1295) makes it difficult to identify Demetrios with the Iatropoulos in Thessalonike in 1246. He could certainly have been a son of that man. In any case, his distinguished career illustrates the prominence of the family.

KOUTZOULATOS: This name appears in various forms in the sources. See Ephraim (8530) where this conspirator's name appears as Κονσουλάτος. A Peter Kounsoulatos is one of the witnesses to a will (1284) of Theodore Kerameas in Thessalonike.; see Actes de Lavra II, 30. He is also mentioned as present at a trial held in the church of St. Demetrios, Thessalonike in 1295: Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 59/60. Because of the great difference in dates (1246-1284/1295), it is unlikely that the Koutzoulatos of Akropolites' narrative is the same as the Peter of the documents. However, Peter could have been a son or grandson of the conspirator. In any case, these references show that the family was well-established in Thessalonike.

LASKARIS, Michael: There are two references to a Michael Laskaris in documents of the period. (1) A Michael Laskaris, πανυδοξότατος, signatory of a σημείωσις of 1180 concerning a property dispute between Vatopedi and the inhabitants of Hierissos: M. Goudas, EEBS 4 (1927), 215. (2) A Michael Laskaris who owned property on Mt. Athos, mentioned in an apographe of 1262: I. Iberites, Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 17 (1933), 69. These two mentions must, obviously, refer to two separate men of the same name for the time span of eighty-two years is too large to allow an identification of the men. The question remains whether either of these men is the Laskaris of the Thessalonike conspiracy of 1246. The second Michael Laskaris is more probable as regards chronology. However, the problem is complicated by the fact that a Michael Laskaris, brother of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris, described as γηραιός during Theodore II's reign (1254-1258: below 109,9-17) could possibly be the Laskaris of the conspiracy and/or be identified with one of the Laskaris mentioned above. Akropolites says that Michael left Asia Minor when John Batatzes became Emperor (1222) and travelled, become acquainted with various places and rulers (109,19-23). Therefore, he could have been in Thessalonike at the time of the conspiracy. However, as this brother of Theodore Laskaris was opposed to the Emperor John Batatzes, it would seem unlikely

that he would have helped the same Emperor take Thessalonike unless, of course, it was to his personal advantage. The fact that Akropoli-tes calls the Michael Laskaris at Thessalonike 'distinguished' might be an indication that he was in fact the brother of Theodore I Laskaris. It is not possible to resolve this problem of prosopography. There may be as many as three different Michael Laskaris in question here.

TZYRITHON, Constantine: An act (χάρτης ἐπιτιμῶν) of John Apokaukos, Metropolitan of Naupaktos (1208-1233) mentions the property of a Constantine Tzirithos in Epiros and refers to him as μεγαλοδοξότατος. See S. Petrides, 'Jean Apokaukos, lettres et autres documents inédits', Bulletin de l'institut archeologique russe a Constantinople 14 (1909), 19-20, no. xv; V. Laurent, 'Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines', EO 30 (1931), 477. This man is probably to be identified with the Tzyrithon of the conspiracy since the latter is described as 'distinguished', an adjective appropriate to someone addressed as μεγαλοδοξότατος. He may also be the Tzyrithon who was the proprietor of a pronoiā at Bare, near Smyrna: MI, IV, 215-216; for the date of this document see Dölger, BZ 27 (1927), 314, note 8; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 177. For the title megas chartoularios see Guiland, Revue des études sud-est européennes 9 (1971), 419-420.

80,4-6. The privileges, both municipal and private, granted by the Emperor John Batatzes to the inhabitants of Thessalonike, can only be surmised. The 'conspirators', the leading men in Thessalonike at least from the time of Theodore Komnenos' reign there, held power in their hands and were able to state the conditions of their surrender. This method of negotiating with towns and cities individually was seen above in the case of I'elnik (XLIV) and in Thracian cities in the early years of the Latin occupation (see, for example, Adrianople: Villehardouin, 423; TT, II, 13). Such a system of conquest by negotiation in Thrace and

Macedonia arose from conditions brought about by the events of 1204 and after. The reasons behind the granting of privileges were political, occasioned by the particular circumstances of the time. See, for example, a much earlier case of an attempt to buy the favour of the citizens of Constantinople by Michael Parapinakes: Attaleiates, 256,21-257,4. See D. Zakythinos, P. Lemerle, Diskussionsbeiträge zum XI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress, Munich, 1958 (1961), 75-96. esp. 85,87,89, 94.

In the case of Thessalonike, however, municipal franchises do seem to have been already in existence. See O. Tafrali, Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle (Paris, 1913), 66-68. The sources emphasize that they were long-standing. Both Villehardouin (280) and Choniates (CSHB 793,15-21; ed. van Dieten, 599, 35-40) refer to the 'old' rights and customs of the inhabitants of the city which Baldwin had to confirm before the people of Thessalonike would surrender the city. See also the fifteenth century (1423) agreement between the Venetians and the citizens of Thessalonike: observaret dicte communitati statuta et consuetudines suas :Sathas, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Age I (Paris, 1880), 141,32-37. According to Choniates, the confirmation of rights was granted by a γράμμα ἐρυθρόγραφον... πᾶσι τοῖς ἐθελμοῖς τῇ πόλει τὸ ἔμπεδον χαριζόμενον (CSHB 793, 19-21; ed. van Dieten, 599,39-40). However, the precise nature of these privileges cannot be defined.

80,6-8. The conspirators received positions at court, assignments having to do with the local administration of Thessalonike, and land as a reward for their services. On this see above note on 79,14-27.

80,11-13. According to Ephraim (8543-8546). the Emperor John demanded

of Demetrios that he make obeisance (προσκύνησις) to him as he had promised in oaths taken when he received the despotic rank from him.

80,19-82,7. Further instances of collaboration between Spartenos and Kampanos are confirmed by other sources. As mentioned above (79,24), they issued a praktikon jointly. Attached to the praktikon was a lead seal with the name of each man on either side (Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 121.2). In addition, both men owned land in the village of Lozikion (Soloviev, 'Inventaire', nos. 49, 62). Soloviev (op. cit., 39) speculates that these men were related.

81,27-82,3. St. Demetrios was associated with the city of Thessalonike as its patron saint from at least the fifth century. See note on 23, 19-24.

82,13-14. ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης is a reference to the emporeion or market place, usually situated in the lower city, below the acropolis/kastron or, as was probably the case in Thessalonike, outside the walls of the lower city. See Asdracha, La Région, 142.

82,17-18. This gate has not been identified. See M. Vickers, 'The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessalonike', Balkan Studies 11 (1970), 261-280, who does not know this passage in Akropolites. See a plan of the city in G. Theodorides, Τοπογραφία καὶ Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὸν 14 αἰῶνα (Thessalonike, 1959).

82,26-83,12. Eirene, daughter of Theodore Komnenos, wife of Asen II, and mother of Michael Asen, is not mentioned again after this incident. It is possible that she ended her days in Kastoria where there is a fresco portrait of her with her son Michael; see note on 74,4-6.

83,12-14. See Hendy, Coinage and Money, 290-294, and pl. 42, for coins attributed to the period shortly following the Nicaean conquest of the city in December 1246.

Akropolites' statement that the Komneno-Doukai were opposite- or contrary-minded to the Romans, i.e., that they were not themselves Romans, is an extreme Nicaean opinion. For this see the Introduction, 63-64.

XLVI. 84,1-5. Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos, Andronikos' eldest son by marriage to Theodora, granddaughter of Alexios III (above 9,1-2), was born about 1225 in Asia Minor; see on 98,16-17; A. Papadopoulos, Versuch, 3; Geanakoplos, Emperor Michael, 16-19. Note Akropolites' use of the name Komnenos when referring to Michael, a surname which shows his descent from Alexios I Komnenos, the most illustrious of his ancestors. Michael claims to have been brought up and educated at the court of John Batatzes and to have entered upon a military career at the age of eighteen (c. 1243). For autobiographical details see Michael's typika for the monastery of St. Demetrios (ed. H. Gregoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 451) and for the monastery of the Archangel Michael (ed. A. Dmitrievskij, Opisanie, I, 790).

From Akropolites' description of Michael's function, it appears that he held a military post (εἰς φυλακὴν) in Serres, Melnik and the surrounding areas. Angold (Byzantine Government, 292-293) has suggested that Michael and other 'governors' in the European provinces under Nicaean control were called kephalai, the title used in the late Byzantine period to denote military commanders.

84,7-9. Little more is known about Andronikos' position than that he was based in Thessalonike and was in charge of various military commanders. However, his precise duties can be ascertained from piecing together evidence from other sources. George Akropolites later held the same appointment (139,13-14). This can be surmised from the fact that he

was based in Thessalonike and exercised control over military commanders in the area; see 139,2-15; 140, 16-17. He tells us that he was given the title of praitor upon his appointment. The duties of a praitor, as far as they are known from the preceding periods, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are those of a judicial-financial functionary. See H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, 'Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles', Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 84 (1960), 44,75,76 and note 2; J. Herrin, 'Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government:Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205,' DOP 29 (1975), 266-267; Michael Choniates, ed. Lampros,I, 142-145. Although it is not certain that all those appointed by Nicaean Emperors to supervise the western provinces (Andronikos Palaiologos, Theodore Philes, George Akropolites) were called praitor, it is possible to show that Andronikos performed the functions ascribed to praitors. The Archbishop of Ochrid, Iakobos, in a funeral oration for Andronikos, says of him : δομῆστικον μέγιστον ἀποδεικνύων/ ἀνθυπατεύειν εἶτα Θεσσαλονίκῃ (ed. Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina, 77, 49-50). Ahrweiler has pointed out that ἀνθυπατεύειν is archaising language to refer to a praitor (op. cit., 76 and notes 9, 10). In addition, Iakobos alludes to Andronikos' judicial duties: 'he is no longer ... on the Pnyx, or presiding over judgement (δικασπολεῖου)' (Mercati, 70, 21-22).

These references would seem to indicate that Andronikos did fulfil the function of a praitor. However, at the same time, he and Akropolites performed duties which are clearly military and are not related to the praitors' duties as they are known for the period prior to 1204. Andronikos was megas domestikos and his military achievements are attested by Akropolites (45,23-25; 83,19-22), Ephraim (8567-71) and Iakobos (Mercati, 77,47-51). It is quite clear then that at least in the early years after the Nicaean conquest of European provinces, both military and civil authority was exercised by the Emperor's 'viceroys' in Thessalonike.

84,10-12. Demetrios is not heard of again after this date.

84,12-14. Information about Andronikos' death is supplied by Iakobos, Archbishop of Ochrid, who wrote four poems and one oration upon his death. According to him, Andronikos died of pleuritis in c. 1247 and was buried in the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Asia Minor (Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina, 78-80). Shortly before his death he became the monk Arsenios (Mercati, 78-9). He was survived by three sons and three daughters (Mercati, 67, 79; Polemis, Doukai, 156-157). Iakobos singles out Michael, the eldest son, and mentions him by name alone of all the children, an indication of Michael's prominence even at that time, when he was in his early 20's.

84,15-16. The Philes family rose to prominence under the Emperors of Nicaea. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 69, 70. Theodore, together with his mother-in-law, Eirene Komnene Branaina, owned the village of Prinobare, near Smyrna; see H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, B 28 (1958), 59-60; IM, IV, 225-226; 213). Although Theodore found favour at the court of the Emperor John, he fell into disgrace during the reign of Theodore II who blinded him (see below 155,2). See Theodore II's letter mentioning τοῦ παρὰ νόμου πραιτορος (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 254,105. The letter was written during Batatzes' reign when Philes' would have been in charge in Thessalonike as praitor. For other mentions of Philes see below 163,19; 164,8; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 174.

84,16-22. For Michael Komnenos Doukas' title of Despot see note on 88,15-16. Michael probably held Platamon from the time of his uncle Manuel's death (62,4;64,20-22). Pelagonia, Prilep and Ochrid had been in the hands of the Komneno-Doukai until Theodore Komnenos' defeat at Klokotnitsa (25,11-12; 42,24-25) but obviously were restored to the family some time in the late 1230's or early 1240's; see note on 78,20-22.

For Theodore at Vodena (Edessa) see below 89,21-23. The abundance of water on the site of the town gave rise to both the ancient name of the place, Edessa, and the Slavic toponymic, Vodena. See Vasmer, Die Slaven, 197; Ephraim, 9022. For Strovos or Ostrovos, near lake Ostrovos, see 90,2; Carile, 'Partitio', 256-257. Vasmer (Die Slaven, 95,200) derives the name from the Slavic ostrovŭ, island.

Staridola is mentioned by Kantakouzenos (II, 355,9; III,130,4) with Edessa and Ostrovos and must have been in the vicinity. Leake (Travels in Northern Greece (London,1835) I, 311-312) identified it with Sari-gol, north of Kozani.

XLVII. Akropolites' account of the Nicaean conquest of Tzouroulos and Bizye is supplemented by a manuscript note written in 1247 by a Greek or a hellenized Bulgarian who was a subject of the rulers of Bulgaria . See D. Polemis, 'A Manuscript Note of the Year 1247', BF 1 (1966), 269-276. There are only minor discrepancies between Akropolites' account and that of the note.

85,6-7. According to the anonymous note, the Emperor John was accompanied on his campaign by forces of the Bulgarian ruler Michael, son of Asen II (Polemis, 270,1-5). Latin possessions were, at this time, in a severely reduced state and limited to a small area outside Constantinople. For Tzouroulos, which changed hands several times from the period of the Latin conquest, see 51,20-22; 55,10 ff.; 58,16 ff.

85,8-11. Eudokia, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris, was married to Anselm early in Batatzes' reign, perhaps as early as 1224. See on 41,1-10.

85,11-22. For the minor discrepancies between Akropolites' account of the conquest of Tzouroulos and the description found in the anonymous note on 1247 see Polemis, op. cit., 271,17-21; 275-276. Skoutariotes adds the information that the Emperor John was nearly wounded in the siege (ed. Sathas, 499,1-3; Additamenta, no. 28).

85,22-24. According to the anonymous note, the towns of Derkos and Medea, on the shores of the Black Sea, were also taken on this campaign. See Polemis, BF 1 (1966), 270-271; 274-275.

XLVIII. Reference to the Emperor John Batatzes' campaign on Rhodes can be found in other sources which confirm Akropolites' account in its main aspects: (1) two letters of the Emperor Frederick II to the Emperor John Batatzes: MM,III,72 ; Historia Diplomatica, ed. Huillard-Bréholles, VI, 2, 686; (2) an oration by Iakobos, Archbishop of Ochrid: Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina , 88-89.

86,1-2. The Genoese conquest of Rhodes took place in 1249 since Akropolites says that it occurred before Villehardouin set out for the east, a journey which has been dated to May of 1249; see Sir George Hill, A History of Cyprus II (Cambridge, 1948), 189-190. The 'town of the island of Rhodes' corresponds to the modern city of Rhodes, at the north-east tip of the island.

86,3-7. It is not known when John Gabalas assumed authority in Rhodes. For his brother, the Caesar Leo, who was in control of the island in 1233 when the Emperor John Batatzes unsuccessfully invaded it, see above 45,20-21; 46,3-5. In contrast to his brother, John Gabalas is not known to have held any official title. Copper coins with his name call him αὐθέντης τῆς Ῥόδου : G. Schlumberger, Numismatique de l'orient latin, 215-216, pl. viii. The colophon written by him in a manuscript of John Climacus which he himself copied does not attribute any title to him; see Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος , suppl. to vol. 17 (1882-1883), 34-35. He is perhaps the person addressed in a letter by Henry of Lusignan (1218-1253) from Cyprus to a μέγας δούξ, μέγας ῥηγουσιανστής of Rhodes: S. Lampros, 'Δύο Ἐπιστολαὶ ἀναφερομένα εἰς τὴν Μεσαιωνικὴν Ῥόδον', ΜΗ 6 (1909), 32-38.

86,8-10. John Komnenos Kantakouzenos is recorded in the sources of the period with the court title of pinkernes. This title appears in documents, from 1242, in letters and on seals. See Wilson, Darrouzès, REB 26 (1968), 20-21; MM, IV, 139-140; VI, 183; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 288; V. Laurent, 'Les Bulles métriques', Ἑλληνικά 7 (1934). no. 621. Akropolites alone calls him enī tou kerasmatos, the formal and full title from which the word pinkernes derives; see Guillard, Recherches I, 242-250. Kantakouzenos held the title of pinkernes all the while a doux of the Thrakesion theme (1242-1249). See Angold, Byzantine Government, 250-252; Nicol, The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (1968), no. 13.

86,10-13. Philereinos, the acropolis of the ancient Ialysos, is 5 km. to the south-west of the city of Rhodes. Skoutariotes adds that the Greeks took the fortress of Lindos as well, on the eastern coast of the island, about 40 km. south of the city of Rhodes (ed. Sathas, 499,16; Additamenta, no. 29).

86,24-87,4. William II Villehardouin, brother of Geoffrey II and 'prince of Achaia' (1247-1278), was on his way to Cyprus to meet with crusaders bound for Egypt (not Syria) when he stopped at Rhodes. He had with him 400 knights. See Sanudo, Istoria, ed. Hopf, 102; A History of the Crusades II, edd. Wolff and Hazard, 244-245. See Frederick II's letter of congratulations to the Emperor John Batatzes on his victory over the Achaians, Achivis, presumably a reference to the men Villehardouin left behind on the island: Huillard-Bréholles, ed., Historia Diplomatica VI,2, 686.

87,4-10. Iakobos describes the intervention of the Franks 'as if by preconcerted signal' and their looting: Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina, 88,30-89,5.

87,14-88,1. See also Iakobos' oration for the Emperor's preparation of the fleet: Mercati, op. cit., 89,9. For Theodore Kontostephanos see note on 66,14-23.

LXIX. 88,15-17. The marriage alliance is dated to 1249 (Dolger, Regesten, no. 1799) since it follows an account of the Nicaean victory at Rhodes (XLVIII).

The question of Michael's title of Despot -- the date of its bestowal and the issuing authority -- is extremely problematic. Akropolites introduces Michael as Despot for the first time in the course of relating the events of 1246 (84,16-19). But he mentions Michael twice before this passage, in neither case with any title (24,20; 64,20-22). Akropolites' use of the title the third time he mentions Michael would not seem to be pure chance. In other instances Akropolites is careful or at least deliberate about his expression; he makes an attempt to be historically accurate about personal titles. See the Introduction, 53-54. Therefore, it seems that one must see some significance in the fact that Akropolites calls Michael Despot much before 1252, the date of the treaty concluded between Michael and the Emperor John (92,6-10).

But Akropolites is not our only source for an earlier date. Michael's signature on two charters issued to the citizens of Corfu in 1246, preserved in Latin translations, is said to read Michael despota; see Lemerle, 'Ελληνικά 4 (1953), 420, 423. Perhaps Ferjančić is correct in arguing that this title was added to the description of the signature by those who translated the documents into Latin because they did not know at what date he received the title (Despota, 66), but does this argument also apply to Michael's charter to Makrinissa, also of 1246 (May)? An official of Michael VIII's chancery prefaced the text of Michael II's chrysobull to the monastery with the explanation that at the time Michael II issued the charter 'he had already received the title of Despot from the imperial authority (ἦδη γάρ παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ πῶν δεσποτῶν ἄξιωμα ἔλαβε): MC, IV, 346. It is likely that someone living and working in Constantinople after 1261 would use βασιλική ἀρχή to refer to the Emperors in Asia Minor and not to

Theodore Komnenos and his family. On the basis of this statement, then, one would have to conclude that Michael received the title of Despot before May 1246 from an imperial authority, probably the Emperor John Batatzes. See also Barišić, Zbornik Radova 16 (1975), 73 and notes 6,7, for this opinion.

A billon trachy recently published by T. Gerasimov (Izvestiia na arkhologicheskiiia institut 34 (1974), 319-321) depicting the Emperor John Batatzes bestowing the dignity of Despot on Michael II and which Gerasimov dates to 1252, would seem to put an end to the discussion of the source and date of Michael's title. Gerasimov dates the coin to 1252 because he finds in Akropolites' account of the treaty concluded in that year an explanation for the ceremony, albeit symbolic, depicted on the coin. He has no more concrete reason for the date. However, Hendy and Bendall, in a publication of another specimen of the coin, argued that the style in which the coin is rendered makes it necessary to date it between 1224 and late 1246; see Revue Numismatique 12-13 (1970-1971), 144.

Although it cannot be established conclusively that Michael received the title of Despot for the first and only time from the Emperor John Batatzes (it could have been granted to him first by an Emperor at Thessalonike, his uncle Theodore or cousin John, for example), it is certain that he did receive the title at some point from John Batatzes, probably before 1252, possibly in 1246. In fact, the only two sources which are opposed to this earlier date are Gregoras (I,48,24-49,2), whose account is much too late to be given precedence over the other sources quoted above, and Michael's charter of 1251 to Ragusa (original preserved) which he signs simply, Michael Doukas; see Lemerle, 'Ελληνικα 4 (1953), 412-413; F. Barišić, Zbornik Radova 9 (1966), 19-22.

28,17. Nikephoros, eldest son of Theodora and Michael, is thought to be the figure depicted next to his mother on a marble tomb in the

church of St. Theodora in Arta. See A. Orlandos, 'Αρχαῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημεῖων τῆς Ἑλλάδος 2 (1936), 109-110; the 'Life of St. Theodora of Arta, ed. Moustoxydes, 45-46, Polemis, Doukai, no. 49.

88,18-19. Maria was one of five children born to Theodore II and his Bulgarian wife Helen; see 153,25-154,9. She and Nikephoros were betrothed in 1249 to be married the following year, according to Gregoras (I, 47, 5-6), but the marriage did not actually take place until 1256; see below, 134,3-6.

88,19. Theodora, the wife of Michael II, was the daughter of John Petraliphas, megas chartoularios under the Emperor John Batatzes. Theodora was canonised in local tradition. The 'Life' which was composed in her honour at the end of the thirteenth century is a source for the careers of Michael I, Theodore Komnenos and Michael II, her husband. See Moustoxydes, 42-47; Polemis, Doukai, no. 162.

89,4-6. Akropolites does not specify what it was Michael did. Gregoras (I,48,6-12) indicates that Michael was taking territory away from the Emperor John in the west. This account is borne out by the fact that Velesos (Veles), one of the towns ceded by Michael at the end of the campaign described here (91,24-92,1) had last been mentioned in 1246 as part of the Emperor's territory (73,20).

89,11-19. The campaign took place in the winter of 1252-1253. For Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes see note above on 55,15-19.

89,20-90,1. Vodena (Edessa) was under the control of Theodore Komnenos from 1246: see above 84,20-22.

90,4-5. For Alexios Strategopoulos, one of the new generals mentioned here, in disfavour during Theodore II's reign, see below on 114,2-19.

90,6. Although the surname Iakrenos appears in several sources in this

period, John Makrenos is not named specifically. A Makrenos, parakoimomenos, commanded troops in the Peloponnesos in 1262; Pachymeres I, 206, 2; 207, 14; Ahrweiler, Byzance et la Mer, 354 ff.. Angold (Byzantine Government), 184, note 16, identifies this commander with our John Makrenos. For other members of the family see above (37, 2, 12): a Makrenos involved in a conspiracy against the Emperor John; MM, IV, 247: George Makrenos, doux of the Thrakesion in 1256.

90, 6-7. A person of this name, Goudelles Tyrannos, ceded his property in Nymphaion to the Lembos monastery in 1294; MM, IV, 286, 4; Angold, Byzantine Government, 109. However, because of the forty-two years difference in dates, Ahrweiler ('Smyrne', 170) hesitates to claim that the Goudelles Tyrannos of the 1252 campaign is the same man.

The name Goudelles Tyrannos is composed of two surnames: for the Goudelles family see S. Lampros, NH 13 (1916), 211-221; for Tyrannos see the will of the founder of the Virgin (S)koteine monastery in Philadelphia (1247), ed. S. Eustratiades, 'Ελληνικά 3 (1930), 336, 24; 337, 21. In his unpublished catalogue of seals from the Shaw collection, V. Laurent records several examples of names composed of two patronyms (Isauros Tzykandiles, Goudeles Karamalos) and postulates that in such cases the one name is used as a surname, the other as a first name. However, this is not certain.

90, 18-19. A Glabas, kouropalates and megas papas is mentioned by Pachymeres (I, 350, 8-11) as the head of an expedition sent during Theodore II's reign to take Mesembria on the Black Sea coast. He is probably to be identified with the Glabas of this passage; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 175. For the name see Polemis, Doukai, 120.

90, 19-21. Theodore Petraliphas, brother of Michael II's wife Theodora (88,19; 91,6) was the son of John Petraliphas, the Emperor John's mezas chartoularios (58,19; 66,22). Akropolites does not tell us that John and Theodore were related. We know this only from the 'Life' of St. Theodora (ed. Moustoxydes, 42). Theodore had two sisters besides Theodora, Maria (140,24-25) and another unnamed sister who married the Bulgarian Alexios Slav (39,13-14). Theodore's wife, Tornikes' daughter, is not known from any other source.

The Petraliphas family provides an example of the division in political loyalties which could exist within the same family in the period 1204-1261. The father John served the Emperors at Nicaea, although John's sister Maria, and daughter Theodora were married to the Komnenoi rulers of Epiros and Thessaly. John's son Theodore served Michael II but was married to the daughter of a man who served the Nicaean side.

90,20-24. This passage, through 91,5, is a major digression from the account. It is introduced by a description of Petraliphas' relationship with Tornikes and ends with a statement about Akropolites' position, the real reason for the digression.

Demetrios Komnenos Tornikes came from a family which had served the Angeloi as administrators. He is the grandson of Demetrios Tornikes, epi tou kanikleiou in the twelfth century. For the family see J. Darrouzès, 'Notes sur Euthyme Tornikès, Euthyme Malakès, et Georges Tornikès', REB 23 (1965), 149, 152-155, 163, 165-167; N. Adontz, 'Les Taronites à Byzance', B 11 (1936), 21-42; Polemis, Doukas, 184-185. Demetrios' mother was a Komnene; see Darrouzès, 'Les Discours d'Euthyme Tornikès (1200-1205)', REB 26 (1968), 108, note 22. He married a first cousin of Andronikos Palaiologos (below, 93, 14-15) by whom he had four children, a daughter who married Theodore Petraliphas (90, 19-20), a son Constantine (below 114,3-4; G. Schmalzbauer, JOB 13 (1969), 117-119), a son John, sebastokrator under Michael VIII (Schmalzbauer, 121-122) and

Andronikos (Schmalzbauer, 122-123).

It is clear that Demetrios was an influential man both at the court of Theodore I Laskaris and that of John Batatzes. See the letter of Michael Choniates (ed. Lampros, II, 356); above 66,14-15. His position of power was symbolised or expressed by the name of 'brother' which the Emperor John bestowed on him. This honorific epithet is found in documents, mainly protagmata, having to do with the internal affairs of the Empire: MM,IV, 41, 147, 193, 199. Pachymeres (I,64,14-17) states that Tornikes' sons received considerable prestige from the fact that their father had been called 'brother' by the Emperor John. --

Demetrios held no other honorific title or title of office known to us. However, he did perform a function or functions which are loosely described by Akropolites with the expressions 'administrator of public affairs' and 'mediator in affairs'; see 66,15-16; 90,21; 93,20. Neither of these expressions is a title; see Loenertz, OCP 26 (1960), 297-298; Guillard, Recherches, I, 102; Verpeaux, BS 16 (1955), 273, note 24; Angold, Byzantine Government, 155. No such titles exist in the official lists or are ever used in signatures, seals or inscriptions. It is clear that the person described as $\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ or, a mesazon, was the intermediary between the Emperor and various services. He had great power and freedom of speech with the Emperor; see Choniates, CSEB, 281,4-7; ed. van Dieten, 215, 8-9. His duties were wide-ranging: advisory, ambassadorial, administrative; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 146-149. A mesazon could then be described as an 'administrator of public affairs'. See now Oikonomidès' comments on the mesazon (paradynasteuon in the XIth century) in 'L'Evolution de l'Organisation administrative de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025-1118)', Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976), 131-132.

90,23-24. Tornikes' death can be dated to 1246/7 - since Akropolites says (93,10-11) that Andronikos Palaiologos was in Thessalonike when Tornikes died. Palaiologos is known to have been in Thessalonike only from 1246-1247, the year he died. See note on 84,12-14.

90,24-91,1. The interpretation of this sentence has caused problems. I take it to mean that after Tornikes' death there was no person who administered public affairs who was notable or distinguished by any dignity or name of office. No one person did the work which Tornikes had done. It was distributed among many men who themselves were not titled. The passage does not, however, imply that an 'administrator of public affairs' held a specific title of office. See Loenertz, OCP 26 (1960), 299, for this interpretation. He could hold any dignity or title whatsoever. See Oikonomides, Travaux et Mémoires 6 (1976), 131-132.

91,2. The word ἀνώνυμοι, used to describe the clerks or secretaries, has the general meaning 'nameless', 'undistinguished', but in view of the fact that Akropolites makes a point of saying that Tornikes' work was done by people who did not hold honorary or official titles (90,24-91,1), the word can be given the more specific meaning of 'untitled'. See also Akropolites' use of the words ὀνομαζόμενος or κατονομαζόμενος with the meaning 'to be called', in the sense of 'bearing the title of': 32,24; 66,22; 77,4-5; 79,18; 124,8. Further, it is true that none of the people mentioned here bore a title, whether one of the chancery, such as epi tou kanikleiou, or any other court or office title. Only Akropolites himself (90,5) presents a problem in this respect because he is thought to have held the title of megas logariastes by this time (post 1246) if not logothetes tou genikou, see Guillard, JOB 13 (1969), 112; Angold, Byzantine Government, 206; Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, 48. If this is so, he could not be described as ἀνώνυμος with the sense of 'undistinguished', much less with the specific meaning of 'untitled'.

But see the Introduction, 36-40, where it is argued that Akropolites did not hold an official title at this time.

91,3. Joseph Mesopotamites was a correspondent of the Emperor Theodore II before the latter's accession to the throne; see Eois-tulae, ed. Festa, 150-153. He is mentioned in a document as a judge in a lawsuit concerning the monastery of Lembos and private individuals: IM, IV, 208, dated 1259; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1879. For his family see Angold, Byzantine Government, 163, note 77.

91,3-4. Nikephoros Alyates was made epi tou kanikleiou under Theodore II Laskaris but later had his tongue cut out by the same Emperor; see below 165,6. He may be the Alyates who was the author or drafter of the preface to a praktikon: I. Ševčenko, 'On the Preface to a Praktikon by Alyates', JÖBG 17 (1968), 68,69. There is also the possibility that he was the apographeus responsible for the actual survey of the property which would have been described in the praktikon of which only the preface survives. On Alyates see now Trapp, Prosopographisches Lexikon, 68-69. Like Mesopotamites he came from a family who served the Angeloi as administrators; see Choniates (CSHB 632,18: apparatus; ed. van Dieten, 479,41: apparatus).

91,5. He is perhaps the Makrotos who is the recipient of a letter from Nikephoros Blemmydes, written while Blemmydes was on Mt. Athos in 1238-1239 (ed. Westerink, BS 12 (1951), 55: τῷ βασιλικῷ γραμματικῷ τῷ Μακροτῷ) and the correspondent of George Babouskomites, teacher of the future Patriarch Bekkos (V. Laurent, 'La Correspondance', Εἰς μνήμην Σ. Ἀδάμτρου (Athens, 1935), 92-93).

91,10. Kantakouzenos (I,279,23) also uses the plural when referring to Deabolis (Devol). Apparently Devol had two fortresses; see Nicol, Despotate, 22⁴. It was located on the river of the same name to the south of lake Ochrid, on the north side of mount Tomor. See A. Zakythinos, EEBS 17-18 (1941-1948), 222-223; Carile, 'Partitio', 282; Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, 321: θέματος Δεαβόλεως.

91,11-17. Albanon, the mountainous area between lake Ochrid and Dyrrachion, had come under Theodore Komnenos' control (25,12) and then Asen's in 1230 (43,2). It must have reverted to independent rule upon Asen's death. Goulamos (Golem), the local magnate, was married to the granddaughter of Eudokia, the daughter of Alexios III who had been married to Stephen Nemanja (9,9-6). Golem's wife was therefore a niece of the Empress Eirene. See Nicol, Despotate, Genealogical Table III, p. 237. For earlier rulers of Albanon see Nicol, Despotate, 17, 26, 48-49; idem., Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Athens, 1976), 24-25.

91,21. John Xeros had gone to Nicaea in 1250 to obtain a synodal decision on his transfer from the metropolitan see of Larissa, in which he was a bishop, to that of Naupaktos, where he became Metropolitan; see Laurent, Regestes, nos. 1316, 1317; MM, III, 61; Nicol, Despotate, 54-59; 118, 132. See also Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 502,4; Additamenta, no. 30) who adds Xeros' Christian name to Akropolites' account.

91, 21-22. Constantine Meliasenos was married to Maria Komnene Angelina, daughter of Michael I Komnenos Doukas, and niece of Theodore Komnenos. See Polemis, Doukas, 142-143; MM, IV, 345, 382. He was the founder of the monastery of Makrinitissa on Mt. Pelion (1215: MM, IV, 282-3) and enjoyed considerable privileges and benefits under Michael II Komnenos Doukas (MM, IV, 345-349). Meliasenos had appealed to two Patriarchs at Nicaea, Germanos (1223-1240) and Manuel II (1243-1254), for help against a local bishop and therefore, like John Xeros, had had contact with Nicaea before the embassy of 1252; see MM, IV, 354.

91, 22. Chomatenos mentions a Constantine Lampetes who had referred a case to the synod while Theodore Komnenos was Emperor and who was still alive while Manuel was Despot (1230-c. 1236): ed. Pitra, 501-504. It is not certain, however, that he is to be identified with the Lampetes

mentioned here.

92,1-2. Michael had held Prilep at least from 1246 (above 78, 20-22; 84, 18-19). Velesos (Veles) was last mentioned by Akropolites as belonging to the Emperor John in 1246: 78, 20. Michael had probably seized it in the interim. See on 89, 4-6.

92,2. Kroai, between the Ishmi and Mati rivers in Albanon, was the main fortress of the region in this period. See note on 43,2.

The Emperor John granted privileges to the inhabitants of Kroai at this time which are known from a chrysobull of Andronikos II, inserted in a document of Alfonso V of Aragon (1457): Dölger, Regesten, no. 1810; Thalloczy, Jireček, Archiv für Slavische philologie 21 (1899), 97.

The privileges provided for the freedom of the inhabitants and their control over all their possessions, both within and without the town.

92,4. Phokas, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, seems to have become the Emperor John's advisor and confidant after the death of Demetrios Tornikes. See Akropolites' comments to this effect, 96,19-97,7. See also Theodore II's letter to him, written about 1254, concerning the appointment of an abbot to the imperial monastery of Kouzenas: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 162-163; Dölger, Regesten, 1823a; Angold, Byzantine Government, 52. He is not to be confused with Michael Phokas, paneugenestatos and stratopedarches of the Thrakesion theme and of Philadelphia; see Ahweiler, 'Smyrne', 141-142. In the first instance Phokas is a Christian name; in the second, it is a family name.

92,4-5. Isaac Doukas, nicknamed Mourtzouphlos, is mentioned as a leader of an army during Theodore II's reign (144,5-10). He is not to be confused with the sebastokrator Isaac Doukas, brother of the Emperor John (below, 101,8-9). For the nickname Mourtzouphlos which became a surname in the fourteenth century see Polemis, Doukai, 145; note on 7,3-6. For the title primmikerios of the court, see Guillard, Recherches I, 303-304.

92,6. The Hyaleas family may have been established in Asia Minor from the eleventh century. See Anna Komnena, III, 26,2-3, for a Hyaleas, doux of Smyrna. Michael Hyaleas, protovansebastos and assessor in a court case of 1216, could have been the grandfather of the Hyaleas of this passage; see MM,IV,290. See also the reference to a Hyaleas, property-owner in Philadelphia, listed in the praktikon (1247) of the monastery of the Virgin (S)koteine: Eustratiades, Ἑλληνικά 3 (1930), 338.

92, 9. Ferjančić (Despoti, 65-69) assumes that Michael also received the title of Despot from the Emperor John at this time (1252). On this subject see note on 88,15-17.

92,11. A similar fate was Demetrios', son of Theodore Komnenos:84,10-12. This is the last mention of Theodore in the sources.

92,14-15. Easter day, 20 April 1253.

92,17-18. The protovestiarios Alexios Raoul was one of the Emperor's 'chosen' men (above 66,19-20; Angold, Byzantine Government, 70). Members of his family were large property owners in the region of Smyrna (see MM,IV, 259; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 175-176), while he himself was related to the Emperor John through marriage to his brother's daughter. For this brother, not known by name, see Polemis, Doukai, no. 73. However, both Raoul and his sons suffered under Theodore II Laskaris: Pachymeres, I, 108, 17-109,1; below 155,6-7. See Fassoulakis, The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(1)es, 15-16. For the honorary title of protovestiarios see Guillard, Recherches I, 396; II, 281; Angold, Byzantine Government, 206.

92, 21. According to Akropolites (84,19), Ochrid was one of Michael's possessions in 1246. Although it is not mentioned among the places ceded by Michael in the 1252-1253 agreement (91,24-92,2), it is one of the places the Emperor John visited in his inspection of newly-acquired territory (92,20). As Ochrid is mentioned along with Deavolis

and Kastoria, both of which went over to the Emperor as a result of Petraliphas' desertion to him (91,6-11), it may be that Ochrid was one of the places which was under Petraliphas' rule, or Golem's (91, 11) and was ceded to the Emperor by direct negotiation with either man, and not with Michael II.

L. Akropolites' account of the trial held at Philippi in the spring of 1253 is remarkable for its inordinate length. It is by far the fullest account Akropolites has given on any subject up to this point in the narrative. The blow by blow description he offers of the proceedings is the result not so much of his being an eyewitness and participant as of his preoccupation with clearing Michael Palaiologos' name. A comparison with the other source for this episode, Pachymeres (I, 21,1-23,15) will reveal differences in details significant for understanding Akropolites' manner of narration and the reason behind it. His account can, in its broad lines, be regarded as encomiastic of Michael Palaiologos.

92,26. Bisaltia, the region between lake Bolbe and the Strymon: Hdt., VII, 115; Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικὸν Ἐλευθερουδάκη (Athens, 1928), III.

93,2-4. Nicholas Manglavites, one of the leading citizens of Melnik, had been responsible for persuading the people of that town to subject themselves to the Emperor John's rule in 1246 (above 76,5-77,9). His official position, if any, is not known. One of his seals has survived, but it does not bear any title; see Laurent, 'Mélanges d'épigraphie grecque et de sigillographie byzantine', EO 31 (1932), 443, no. 14.

93,7-9. Two judges are mentioned specifically by name: Akropolites and Makrotos (99,7-9). Members of the army (99,3-6), as well as the senate (99,12-150) seem to have had a say, although the importance of their role is difficult to estimate. The senate and representatives of the army were present at two other trials for treason known to have taken place during the years in exile: see Skoutariotes (Additamenta, no. 6)

and Blemmydes (Curriculum vitae, 49, 14-15). Little is known about judicial procedure at Nicaea. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 166-172.

93,9-94,14. The conversation took place in 1246/7 see on 90, 23-24. It is remarkable, therefore, that six to seven years passed before the matter was examined in 1253. A reason for the delay could have been the need to have the Emperor present at the inquiry. His campaign in 1252/1253 was his first appearance in the west since 1246. But the fact that rumours were circulating as early as 1246/7 and were apparently still considered serious enough to warrant investigation in 1253, reveals the degree of Michael's prominence in this period. See also on 84, 12-14.

From this suggestive and impressionistic conversation it emerges that Michael's demeanour after Tornikes' death (for him see 90, 20-24) was thought to have been caused not by his relation's death but by some sort of political disappointment (93, 21-94,3). What this is, is not stated clearly. It is probable that the allusion is to Michael's projected usurpation of power and political alliance with Bulgaria, to be cemented by a marriage with Thamar, Asen II's daughter. Pachymeres, in contrast, clearly states that Michael was suspected of having made an agreement with Michael II, ruler in Epiros and Thessaly, whereby he would cede the land under his control (Serres, Melnik, and surroundings) to Michael II and would have a share in the government as Michael's son-in-law (I, 21, 11-17). It is possible that the accounts of Pachymeres and Akropolites present two versions of rumours about Michael Palaiologos which were circulating at the time. In any case, Akropolites states his belief in Michael's innocence from the first: 93, 12-15; 94, 13-14.

94, 15-95, 4. The first part of the investigation was devoted to ascertaining whether the inhabitants of Melnik had obtained their information from Michael himself.

95,5-9. The trial by battle or duel is considered to have been imported to Byzantium from the west before 1204 and, like the ordeal by hot iron (below 96,6-98,14), to have been used only occasionally. See now D.J. Geanakoplos, Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures (New Haven, 1976), 146-155. It is of interest to note that trial by ordeal was officially outlawed in the west at this time, both by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and by the Emperor Frederick II, the Emperor John's father-in-law: J.W. Baldwin, Speculum 36 (1961), 613-636, esp. 614 and note 8; J.C. van Cleve, The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (Oxford, 1972), 244-245.

οὐδὲν (l. 7) is possibly merely a reference to any area in which the struggle took place. However, it could be a specific reference to the ancient theatre at Philippi which was still intact in the sixteenth century and therefore could have served as the scene of the trial and the duel. See P. Collart, Philippe (Paris, 1937), 6, 371; ibid., Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 52 (1928), 74-79.

96,6-98,14. Pachymeres does not make any mention of this incident, the discussion of the use of the ordeal. He had knowledge of this method, as he relates having observed its application in a case under Theodore II (I,33,7-14). Since it was not used in Michael's trial, he probably saw no point in mentioning it. However, Akropolites relates the discussion concerning this method of proof in order to highlight Michael's character.

97,4. Here Phokas (see on 92,4) acts as a go-between or spokesman for the Emperor. It is not clear whether he was actually a judge.

97,12-14. See Pachymeres' description of the procedure involved in the application of this method which was similar to western practice (I, 33,7-14; H.C. Lea, The Ordeal (Philadelphia, 1866, repr. 1973), 40-42).

98,5-9. Although the ordeal by hot iron was known and used in Byzantium, at least in the thirteenth century, it was never recognised as a legal means of establishing innocence. See Chomatenos' objections to the procedure (ed. Pitra, cols, 389-392). During the reign of Theodore II Laskaris it was constantly used in the trials of people accused by the Emperor of having cast evil spells on him (Pachymeres I, 32,11-33,7). See Angold, 'The Interaction of Latins and Byzantines', paper read at the Fifteenth International Byzantine Congress (Athens, 1976): Resumés des Communications;

98,16-17. As the trial took place in 1253 when Michael was twenty-seven, almost twenty-eight, he must have been born in 1225-1226: But see A. Papadopoulos, Versuch, 3; Geanakoplos, Emperor Michael, 17.

98,22-99,3. Akropolites' remarks concerning the Emperor's part in the trial are critical and antagonistic. See especially 99,9-11, where he accuses him of wishing to obtain a conviction of Michael.

99,3-5. For the large number of Latin mercenaries in the Nicaean army and their say in matters, see below 120,22-24; Angold, Byzantine Government, 185-186; 187-188. Michael was later in command of the Latin contingent in the army, with the title of megas konostablos. See below 134, 10-13.

99,11-12. Probably a pun on λόγος, meaning both 'word' and 'reason'.

99,12-100,1. Part of this encomium for Michael is repeated by Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos): ed. Grecu, Memorii (Bucharest, 1966), 154,17-22; ibid., BS 26 (1965), 67-68. See the Introduction, 54.

This passage contains one of Akropolites' rare mentions of the senate (99,15). Members of the senate must have been drawn from the groups of office holders (οἱ ἐν τέλει) as well as from the aristocracy who held no titles of office: Angold, Byzantine Government, 72-73; A. Christophilopoulou 'Ἡ Σύγκλητος', Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἱστορίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Διόκαιου 2(1949), 22-23.

100,5-14. For Eirene, Theodore II's eldest daughter, see below 152, 18-20. Michael's mother was the granddaughter of Alexios III (84,1-5), as was Theodore II's mother. Therefore, Theodore and Michael were cousins and Theodore's daughter was Michael's niece.

LI. 100,15-17. Akropolites vaguely says that Michael was still held in suspicion when the trial ended (ὕπεβλεπτο), not making it clear whether he was free or in prison, while Pachymeres states that Michael was imprisoned (I,22,7-8).

100,20-22. See Theodore III's letter to the Patriarch Manuel (1243-1254), mentioning the ὑπόθεσις of Palaiologos and saying that the Patriarch's secretary will inform him about the matter (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 130). This letter perhaps dates to the time of the incident described in this passage.

101,2-6. Both Pachymeres (I,22,8-23,10) and Akropolites refer to oaths Michael had to swear. Pachymeres, however, adds that Michael had to swear oath before the synod (I,23,8-10). The penalty or ἐπιτίμιον (101,2) Michael was placed under if he did not keep his oath was one of excommunication : Pachymeres I, 23,9; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 503, 30-31. See also N. Sworonos, 'Le Serment de fidélité', FEb 9 (1951), 106-113; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1320.

101,7. Skoutariotes' remark that although the oaths supposedly cleared Michael of any guilt, he was always held in suspicion, indicates that matters were not as simple as Akropolites suggests (ed. Sathas, 504,2-4).

101,7-9. For Isaac Doukas, one of the Emperor John's two brothers, see Polemis, Doukai, no. 73. Michael Palaiologos refers to his marriage to the Emperor John's ἀδελφὴν καὶ Ἰσα θυγατρὶς in his typikon for the monastery of St. Demetrios (Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 451).

For Theodora Doukaina Komnene Palaiologina see Polemis, Doukai, no. 74; Zacos-Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals, I, 1, no. 122, pp. 114-115.

101,9-18. Nothing else is known of John Doukas, son of the sebastokrator Isaac, nor of Eudokia Angelina, his wife. John Angelos also presents a problem of identification. Is he to be identified with John Angelos, doux of the Thrakesion theme and 'uncle' of the Emperor John (MM,IV,36,40: 1235-1236); with John Angelos, megas prinnikerios, later protostrator, a favourite of Theodore II (below 115,7; 124,9-10) ; or with John Angelos, who was in charge of the garrison at Melnik in 1255 (below 155,7-8)? Nothing definite can be said on the subject although, as Angold suggests, the protostrator John, friend of Theodore II, would seem to have been too young a man to be the John Angelos of this passage. (Byzantine Government, 251, note 12). To complicate the issue, Eudokia the daughter of John Angelos, also had a brother called John Angelos, known from Pachymeres (I,72,3-4; 109,16-17).

Akropolites comments that John Doukas was ἐν μετράξειν when he died (see 101,11). From another passage where the author says he was twenty-one and a μετράχιον (above 63, 21) it seems that a person in his early twenties could be described as a μετράξ.

LII. 101,20-21. A letter of Theodore II to the Patriarch Manuel mentioning his father's triumphal return from the west to Nicaea probably refers to the Emperor's arrival in 1254, described here; see Epistulae, ed. Festa, 124-125. Nicaea was the Metropolis of Bithynia but after 1204 it became, in addition, the seat of the Patriarchate, all the while maintaining two clergies, one for the metropolitan see, the other for the patriarchal throne; see Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 7,1-11.

101,23-26. It is thought that the Emperor John's illness was epilepsy, since his son Theodore II suffered from attacks of epilepsy, a hereditary disease; see Pachymeres I, 32,1-2; A. Gardner, The Laskarids, 192, note 1. Gregoras (I, 49,23-24) also says that the Emperor suffered from

'falling sickness'.

101,26-102,3. Eholbion or euphorbium, a plant named after the doctor who discovered its medicinal properties, whose milky juice was used as an antidote for various poisons: Pliny, Natural History, (Leipzig, 1906), V,1 (1), 16; Du Cange, Glossarium, col. 453. It was probably one of the ingredients used to make a plaster which was then applied to the open cuts on the Emperor's legs to draw out the 'poison' which was thought to be in his system.

102,8-12. The Emperor took part in a ceremonial procession (περὶ-πατος) from palace to church on Palm Sunday, in remembrance and re-enactment of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. See Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the ceremony which is thought to date to post-iconoclastic times: ed. Verpeaux, 224-226; 227,20; Heisenberg, 'Aus der Geschichte', 82-83. The procession was in the manner of a triumphal adventus and may have had a special significance for the Emperor John in 1254, in view of his recent victorious return from the west. See E. Kantorowicz, 'The King's Advent', Art Bulletin 26 (1944), 207-231, esp. 210.

102,12-103,2. A similar description of the illness and its attacks is found in Gregoras (I, 49,21-50,19). It is not known whether his source was Akropolites or whether both authors had a common source.

103,3-11. The church at Smyrna which the Emperor visited, and prayed in, may have been the monastery church known as Kamelaukas, which was dedicated to Christ. See MM, IV, 12, 149, 179; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 93. For Periklystra see above 63,2.

103,13-15. The palace at Nymphaion is thought to have been built during the time of the Latin occupation of Constantinople, probably during the reign of the Emperor John, since it was this Emperor who moved the imperial residence from Nicaea to Nymphaion. See note on 68,1, with bibliography; also, T. Kirova, 'Un palazzo ed una casa di eta tardo-Bizantina in Asia Minore', Felix Ravenna 103-104 (1972), 291-2.

ἀνακτορικὸς σκηναῖς (l. 15) is a common expression for 'imperial residence', or any structure in which the Emperor was residing. Akropolites is referring to a building on the imperial estate which was distinct from the palace. See Andreeva, Ocherki, 23; Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 7,4-7.

103.16-19. Although there is no question about the year of his death (1254), the day and the month are disputed. Akropolites claims 30 October (third day of the Kaland of November), while entries in short chronicles give the date 3 November. See Laurent (EO 36 (1937), 162-5) who resolves the discrepancy by arguing that Akropolites, unfamiliar with the Latin system of dating with Kaland, really means 3 November when he says 'on the third day of the Kaland of November'. See also Polemis, Doukai, 108, note 7, on this problem.

The Emperor was buried in Sosandra, the monastery church he founded. See below 153,23-25; Skoutariotes, Additamenta, no. 34; Gregoras I, 50,22; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, 74,2. Although the church never canonised him, a local tradition of his veneration as a saint, ὁ ἐλεήμων, the Almsgiver, grew up in the region of Magnesia, his burial place. According to Pachymeres, there were miracles connected with his name by 1301:II,400,3-402,2. See his 'Life' written in the fourteenth century by a monk (John of Pelagonia) in Asia Minor: Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 160-233; For a different opinion on the date and author of the 'Life' see N. Festa, VV, 13 (1906), 1-35.

103.19-23. Akropolites attributes to the Emperor the standard imperial virtues but mixes these with criticism. In his Epitaphios for the Emperor the same virtues are expounded but without any reference to faults, of course: Opera II, 12-29, esp. 22-24. Here, as below (105, 3-6), Akropolites does not credit the Emperor with real generosity towards his subjects, whereas Skoutariotes (Additamenta, nos. 32, 33), Pachymeres (I, 38,11-39,10) and Gregoras (I,44,15-45,4) all emphasize this aspect of his character and reign. It is difficult to know whether

there is any truth in Akropolites' complaints or whether, as seems more likely, his dissatisfaction arose from a personal disappointment. See the commentary on 32,2-8, for Akropolites' Kaiserkritik in general.

103, 23- 104,10. The Emperor John's first wife, Eirene, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris, died about 1239; see note on 64,1-5. They had only one child, Theodore (II): Gregoras I, 44,7-12. His second marriage, in c. 1244 to Constance Anna, the daughter of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, did not produce any offspring; see Pachymeres I, 181,9-14; H. Dendias, EEBS 14 (1937), 402, for the date. For her death in the west see Gregoras (I,92,3-6).

The Marchioness de Frigga, the Emperor John's mistress, was the subject of much controversy. Blemmydes clearly did not approve of her high position (πρωτεύουσα) and made his feelings known in a public letter (PG, CXLII, 605-609). See also his admonition in the 'Imperial Statue', which is a reference to the Emperor's affair: PG, CXLII, 613C-620A; K. Emminger, Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln (Munich, 1906), 9-13.

104,10-18. This aspect of the Emperor's approach to warfare is discussed at length by Akropolites in his Epitaphios for the Emperor. See Opera II, 17-18.

104,19-23. Gregoras (I,50,25-51,4) claims that Theodore's mother gave birth to him as John Batatzes was ascending the throne. Confirmation of this is found on an hyperpyron issued during Theodore's reign which refers to him as 'porphyrogennetos' (Hendy, Coinage and Money, 256).

104,23-105,6. In his Epitaphios for the Emperor John, Akropolites expresses hope and anticipation of better things in Theodore: Opera II, 26-29, esp. 29,14-16.

105,12-14. According to Blemmydes, the father was much more sensible than the son (Curriculum vitae, 41,11-16). Pachymeres likewise says

that Theodore did not have his father's wisdom in what he said and did (I,36,8-10).

LIIT. 105,18-19. Theodore, named Laskaris after his maternal grandfather Theodore I, was not proclaimed Emperor during his father's lifetime. In his Epitaphios for the Emperor John Akropolites especially emphasizes Theodore's claim to imperial authority both because of his descent from Emperors and because of his qualifications as a result of his education (philosopher king) and his experience as an Emperor's son: Opera II, 26,13-30; 27,25-28,14. Perhaps these two ideas on succession, fitness and hereditary right, were stressed and said to be united in the person of Theodore precisely because he had not been proclaimed Emperor during his father's lifetime. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 45.

105,20-21. The elevation on a shield of a candidate for the imperial office was in use from the fourth century but references to it disappear from sources from the seventh to the thirteenth century, until its reappearance in this very passage. Although all the sources which describe Theodore's proclamation use the word ἔθoς in conjunction with the shield raising ceremony, it is not clear whether the ceremony was in use throughout Byzantine times or whether it fell out of use and was revived after 1204; see Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 509,17-18), Gregoras (I,55,2-3), Ephraim (8912-8913). However, it has now been shown that if there was a revival in the thirteenth century, it was not based on imitation of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople. For this idea see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Zur Kaisersalbung und Schilderhebung im Spätbyzantinischen Krönungszeremoniell', Historia 4 (1955), reprinted in Zum Byzantinischen Geschichte (Darmstadt, 1973), 148-152; now see Ch. Walter, 'Raising on a shield in Byzantine Iconography', REB 33 (1975), 133-175, esp. 160 and notes 95, 96. At any rate, in the thirteenth century there seems to have been a change in the posture of the

candidate. While in earlier descriptions the man is said to have 'stood' on the shield, from the thirteenth century the candidate 'sits' on the shield (καθισθεις). See the examples given by Walter, op. cit., 160, note 96, 163; also, A. Christophilopoulou, 'Εκλογη, 'Αναγόμενοις και Στέψις', 177.

105,22-106,2. Gregoras (I,56,4-7) says that Theodore renewed and confirmed his father's treaty of 1243 with the Turks; see above 69, 23-70,12; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1776. At the time of this embassy the Sultan was Kaikau II. See C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 274-275.

106,4-6. For Manuel see above 100,21-101,1. Ephraim (8923) states that he died two months before the Emperor. See also Blemmydes: 'the Emperor and the Patriarch, as if by agreement, travelled together to the other world' (Curriculum vitae, 41,18-20).

106,6-8. In Theodore's case, as in that of his grandfather Theodore I, the patriarchal throne was vacant at the time of proclamation. In these instances, the significance of the role of coronation by the Patriarch is especially stressed. It is clear from the sources that neither candidate felt that his investiture as Emperor was complete or secure without coronation by the Patriarch. See Svoronos, REB 9 (1951), 175 ff., for various views on the significance of the act of coronation.

106,9-15. Nikephoros Blemmydes taught Akropolites in c. 1238/1239; see 50,3-6 and note on 63,5-12. He took monastic vows at the age of thirty-eight. At the time of the patriarchal election he was living in the monastery he built near Ephesos, called Emathia; see Curriculum vitae, 22, 72-73. Blemmydes was aware of his unpopularity and attributed the various mishaps and problems which befell him to the or malice of others; see Curriculum vitae, 32-33; 40,12-16; 60,4-6.

106,16-18. Blemmydes was Theodore's teacher from about 1240; see Curriculum vitae, 38,6-10. The teacher-student relationship is apparent in their correspondence: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 1-66; 290-319. Akropolites followed Blemmydes as a tutor to Theodore; see below 131, 5-7.

106,18-22. Blemmydes confirms what Akropolites says here. He claims he turned down the offer to be Patriarch because of Theodore's character and attitude. He would compel Blemmydes to serve him, the Emperor, and not God: Curriculum vitae, 42,5-9.

106,22-107,3. Akropolites consistently comments that Emperors prefer to have submissive, often-uneducated men as Patriarchs. See above 72,2-7. What Pachymeres says about another candidate for the Patriarchal throne who was rejected by the Emperor John bears out Akropolites' statement (I,117,7-12). At least in the cases of Methodios (71,24-26), Manuel II (100,21-101,1), and Arsenios (107,6-8), it was true that Patriarchs at Nicaea were not particularly well-educated men. Blemmydes had been asked to undertake the education of Methodios: Curriculum vitae, 39,10-14.

107,3-4. Akropolites implies that personal relations between Blemmydes and the Emperor Theodore were the decisive factor in Blemmydes' rejection as a candidate. Skoutariotes presents an entirely different account. According to him there were three candidates including Blemmydes, all of whom were rejected on the basis of a random selection of readings from the Bible: ed. Sathas, 510,1-26; Additamenta, no. 35. Blemmydes, Akropolites and Gregoras (I,55,13-14) do not make any mention of other candidates. Blemmydes' high opinion of himself may have contributed to the oversimplification of his account (Curriculum vitae, 41,21-31) while Akropolites and Gregoras might have mentioned Blemmydes alone since he was the most prominent man under consideration. Skoutariotes' knowledge of church affairs should be trusted. See the Introduction, 55-58.

107,5-8. Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 510,27-512,2; Additamenta, no. 35) and the unpublished Encomium of Arsenios (cod. Patmiacus 366, ff. 430v-434), both obviously pro-Arsenite sources, provide more information about the monk Arsenios (George Autoreianos); see the Introduction, 60-61 . George, son of a Kamatere and a functionary in Constantinople, Alexios Autoreianos, went to Nicaea during the Patriarchate of Germanos (cod. Patm. 366, f. 433). He became an abbot of the monastery on Oxeia, the westernmost of the Prince Islands, and later retreated to lake Apollonia (Artynia) in Bithynia, between Lopadion and Prousa; see Ramsay, Historical Geography, 181; Janin, Les Eglises, 139, map p. 130. Arsenios' obscurity was possibly a point in his favour in this difficult and hurried election. However, Skoutariotes claims that Arsenios had already come to the attention of the Emperor John who sent him on an embassy to Pope Innocent IV in 1253 (ed. Sathas, 511,10-11).

The low level of Arsenios' education is constantly referred to in the sources hostile to him; see below 177,7-178,2, where Akropolites' true feelings come through; Ephraim, 8949-8951; Gregoras I, 55,18. Even Skoutariotes and the Encomium confirm that his studies were at a secondary level (grammatike, enkyklios). A letter written on his behalf in 1256 by the Metropolitan of Thessalonike to the Pope is perhaps further evidence of the low level of his education. See below on 139,25-140,2, for this letter.

107,9. The Encomium names a Karyanites as one of the messengers sent to fetch Arsenios. He is perhaps the Karyanites, protovestiarites under Theodore II, mentioned below (124,13-14; 159, 19 ff.).

107,10-13. All the sources are in agreement that Theodore was in a great hurry to leave Nicaea and go on campaign; see Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 42,2-4; Pachymeres I, 116,2-4. It is therefore surprising that the latest scholarship on the subject dates Arsenios' elevation to the Patriarchal

throne late in November and Theodore's coronation to December (25); see Laurent, REB 27 (1969), 139-140 ; J. Pappadopoulos, Theodore II, 65. There is no evidence for dating either the election of Arsenios or Theodore's coronation precisely. However, in view of the urgency of the matter, as expressed in the sources, such a late date seems out of the question. Theodore was proclaimed Emperor in early November and began to look for a Patriarch soon after, a process which all in all would have taken two to three weeks, since the longest estimate for Arsenios' elevation is one week (Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 512, 1-2). In fact, the speed with which Arsenios was elevated from an unconsecrated monk (ἀνέρερον; l. 8) to Patriarch was considered uncanonical by some and in later years was questioned; see Pachymeres, I, 115, 20-116, 7; I. Sykoutres, 'Περὶ τὸ Σχίσμα', Ἑλληνικά 2 (1929), 272-274.

LIV. 107, 14-108, 2. Michael Asen, the son of Asen II and his second wife, Eirene, was Theodore II's brother-in-law since Helen, Theodore's wife, was a daughter of Asen by his first marriage. If Eirene and Asen II were married by 1237 (see on 60, 10-13), Michael would have been about seventeen or eighteen at the time of his campaign in 1254; see note on 74, 4-6; I. Dučjev, 'Prinosi', 175-176.

The territory which Michael wished to retrieve was situated in the Rhodope mountain region and had been taken by the Emperor John in 1246, after negotiation with the inhabitants of Melnik; see above 77, 10-78, 22.

108, 15-20. All the places mentioned are in the Rhodope mountain region. For Stenimachos, Krytzimos, Peristitza and Tzepaina, in the north-west part of the mountain, to the south of the Hebros, see Asdracha, La Région, 162, 168, 170-171. Michael's donation of land to the monastery at Bačkovovo, near Stenimachos, may date to the time of his reconquest of this territory; see I. Vera, 'Dva nadpisa ot Asenevtsi Batoshavskifât i Brachanskifât', Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 15 (1946),

114-117. Mneiakos, Oustra, Perperakion, Krybous and Ephraim all lie in the eastern part of the Rhodope, on the north and south banks of the Arda river; see Asdracha, 'Les Rhodopes', 275-277, and map. For the fortress at Oustra see D. Cončev, 'Le Château Médiéval Οὔστρα dans les Rhodopes', BS 25 (1964), 254-260. Ephraim (Le Fraim) and Mneiakos (Moniac) are mentioned by Villehardouin (433, 435, 440). Perperakion or Hyperpyrakion is located on a river of the same name, an offshoot of the Arda; see C. Karamandzoukov, Bulletin de la Société archéologique bulgare 7 (1919-1920), 146.

109,1-5. The territory Michael Asen reconquered had been in Greek hands for only eight years (1246-1254).

LV. 109,9-110,4. Michael and Manuel Laskaris, two of Theodore I's six brothers (see on 34,22-26), were apparently slighted during the reigns of Theodore I and John Batatzes but played a large role in military affairs under Theodore II and Michael VIII. Akropolites shows his hostility to them, possibly because they fared so well under Theodore II. Their exile, dating to the reign of the Emperor John, may have been connected with the plot against the Emperor's life in which two other brothers of the Emperor Theodore were involved; see 34,17-35,12. Unlike Isaac and Alexios, Michael and Manuel did not hold the dignity of sebastokrator, a title often bestowed on brothers of the Emperor. This slight was, according to Akropolites, the reason for their dissatisfaction with the former Emperors at Nicaea (11. 24-27).

110,17-111,1. Skoutariotes says that Mouzalon, the megas domestikos, was in favour of the expedition (ed. Sathas, 514,3-5; Additamenta, no. 36). For him see below 118,24, where he is first introduced to the narrative.

111,2-3. Skoutariotes adds that Theodore saw St. Tryphon in a dream urging him to make the crossing; see Additamenta, no. 37; ed. Sathas, 514,8-12). St. Tryphon, martyred at Nicaea (February 1), was a favourite

saint of Theodore. That Theodore attributed special significance to the saint's role in the campaign can be seen not only from Skoutariotes' statement but also from Theodore's reference to St. Tryphon's help in a letter written during the campaign (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 246,1-3).

LVI-LX. Akropolites' eyewitness account of Theodore II's Bulgarian campaign, together with Theodore's letters to George Mouzalon (for him see below, 118,24) in Anatolia, are the only sources for the expedition which lasted from the winter of 1254/5 until the spring of 1256. For the letters see Epistulae, ed. Festa, Ad Mouzalonem, and Appendix I, 279-282.

111,11. Adrianople was the Emperor's headquarters for this early phase of the campaign; see 113,8-9; 115,16-19.

112,16-113,9. Beroe (Stara Zagora), located at the foot of the Haimos (Balkan) mountains, was the site of Bulgarian-Greek contention during the reign of Alexios III (above 20,14). It probably passed into Bulgarian control early in the thirteenth century, at the time of Kalojan's campaign of devastation in Thrace, which Akropolites mentions here. The great abundance of provisions which Beroe had to offer was also commented on by Villehardouin: 'et la trova garnie de blez et de viandes' (445).

LVII. 113,10-15. Akropolites is referring to the fortresses along the Arda river valley region which had been taken by Michael Asen after the Emperor John's death: Oustra, Perperakion, Krybous and Ephraim; see 108,16-20. Presumably all these were reconquered. In a letter to Mouzalon Theodore mentions the anticipated conquest of Krybous (ed. Festa, 247,3-4). For Krybous, see Asdracha, 'Les Rhodopes', 276, note 6.

113,19-24. In a letter obviously written during this campaign, Theodore states that Stenimachos is about to be reconquered by his army (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 247, 3-4).

113,24-114,2. Tzepaina was the only one of the fortresses in the western Rhodope which Theodore was not able to take during his Bulgarian offensive; see 119,21 ff. The fortress at Tzepaina (Čepino) was made inaccessible by its location in a mountainous region and by the dense forest which covered the slopes of its acropolis. See D. Cončev, BS 20 (2959), 285-304, esp. 290 ff. for the fortress remains; C. Asdracha, La Région, 172.

114,2-7. Alexios Strategopoulos and Constantine Tornikes were from distinguished families. Both men were descended from the Komnenoi. For Strategopoulos see Zacos, Vegliery, Byzantine Lead Seals, I,3 no. 2756, pp.1577-1579; for Tornikes see above on 90,20-24. They fared well under the Emperor John. Alexios' son, Constantine was married to the Emperor's niece, daughter of the sebastokrator Isaac Doukas; see Pachymeres I, 24,8-10; 64,19-20; II,154,12-155,2. Alexios was one of the generals sent by the Emperor John in an offensive against Michael II of Epiros/Thessaly in 1252 (above 90,4-5). Constantine Tornikes, son of Demetrios, mesazon under the Emperor John, was given the honorary title of megas prinnikerios; see Pachymeres I, 64,13-14; Guillard, Recherches I, 300-320.

114,7-19. A long letter by Theodore to Mouzalon describes in detail the deeds of the two men (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 251-255). Akropolites' comment that 'the Emperor was beside himself with anger' (11.16-17) is not an exaggeration, to judge from the language of the letter. In fact, the accuracy of Akropolites' account in this passage is borne out by the contents of the letter. Theodore complains that the disobedience of the ἀνὸμος Strategopoulos and the δυσώνομος Tornikes

caused the army to desert, leaving territory open to Bulgarian attack (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 252,56-253,62). Theodore describes Tornikes as 'frightened at every sound' and describes his flight (254,116). He also confirms Akropolites' statement that the men were ordered to return to battle: 'we return the flute to the mouth for a repetition of the earlier tune' (254,122-255,1). It is clear from later references to Tornikes and Strategopoulos that their performance in this campaign brought about their downfall; Alexios was imprisoned and Constantine lost his title; see below 154,26-155,2. They were however restored under Michael VIII: below 170,23; 173,8-9.

LVIII. 114,20-22. Theodore's letter (discussed above on 114, 7-19) gives the impression that the siege at Melnik was a direct result of the cowardice and incompetence of Tornikes and Strategopoulos. By fleeing they had given the Bulgarians the upper hand: ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀνηγοῖα...κατατρέχειν τῶν χῶρων ἡμῶν τοῦς Βουλγάρους κύνας ἐπόλῃσε (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 253,60-61). Theodore was on his way to Melnik when he wrote this letter (255,124-127).

114,22-115,2. The Bulgarian Dragotas was last mentioned (74,24-75,21) as a military commander at Serres who surrendered the town to the Emperor John in 1246. He had been given gifts as an incentive to help persuade the inhabitants of Melnik to surrender to the Emperor (see 75, 18-21). He must have been assigned a position of authority in the army at Melnik after Melnik's surrender to Nicaea. See also M. Laskaris who claims that Dragotas received land in pronoia at Skoplje from the Emperor John as a reward ('Qui est Dragota?', B 21 (1951), 265-268).

115,6-7. The Nestongos family figures prominently in the thirteenth century. For Andronikos and Isaac Nestongos, first cousins of the Emperor John see above 36,19 ff.; for Isaac Nestongos, epi tes trapezes under Theodore II, see 142,10-11. Theodore Nestongos is known only from this passage. See Polemis, Doukai, 150-152, for the family.

115,7. John Angelos, one of the Emperor Theodore II's favourites, was megas prinnikerios and protostrator under that Emperor; see 124, 9-10; 160,4-8. He may have replaced Constantine Tornikes as megas prinnikerios after Tornikes' disgraceful performance in the Bulgarian campaign. Nothing is known about his ancestry; see on 101,9-18.

115,16-24. See Theodore's letter to Mouzalon, written as he was travelling to Melnik by way of Philippi (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 255, 124-126).

According to a legend, preserved in Theodore Pediasimos' "Εκθροισις τινῶν θαυμάτων (14th c.), the Emperor Theodore prayed at the church of the saints Theodore Tyron and Stratelates in Serres on his way to Melnik; see Treu, Theodori Pediasimi (Potsdam, 1899), 21-22. The saints were said to have been responsible for Theodore's success at Melnik; see F. Dölger, 'Zwei Byzantinische Reiterheroen Erobern die Festung Melnik', Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 16 (1950), 275-279, now available in Paraspora (Ettal, 1961), 299-305; also Z. Pljakov, BB 4 (1973), 193 for comments on the legend.

115,27-116,9. The Roupel or Ropel defile (today Kleidi), between Serres and Melnik, parallel to the Strymon, is about .4 km. from the Bulgarian border. The word Roupel, from pyra Slavic dialect for 'mountain ravine' is the equivalent of κλειδί, the Greek word for a narrow pass; see Rechnik na súvremennifa Búlgarski Knizhovei III (Sofia, 1959); Demetrikes, Ἱερά Λέξιον (Athens, 1939). The Roupel pass was the site of the final defeat of the Bulgarians by Basil II in 1014: Skylitzes, CSHB 457,15-16; ed. Thurn, 348,14-15; Runciman, First Bulgarian Empire, 240 ff. and map.

116, 19-117,13. Reference to Dragotas can be seen in Theodore's letter where he states that the dog (κῶν) died; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 282, 86. He was one of the three who came together in an offensive against the Greeks. The other two were the 'whelp' (σκῶμνος) or Michael Asen, and the 'bear' (ἄρκτος), the Russian Rostislav (see 127,2).

117,16-17. The Emperor's swiftness is commented on by Akropolites elsewhere (111,23-25; 115,18-20; 119,5-7; 126,19-21) and by the Emperor Theodore himself: βαλνομεν ἀσχετῷ ὀρμῇ (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 252,54).

LIX. 117,18 ff. Very little of the following account can be confirmed by Theodore's letters. See below (118,15-20 and 119,22 ff.) for remarks supported by his correspondence. The events described took place in the summer and winter of 1255.

117,23. Vodena (Edessa) was taken by the Emperor John from Michael II Komnenos Doukas in 1252 (above 89,24-90,1).

117,26-118,3. Prilep, along with Veles, were ceded to the Emperor John by Michael II in 1252 (above 92,1). Veles, it seems, had fallen into the hands of the Bulgarians in the meantime.

118,15-20. Neustapolis (Ovčepolje), in the Vardar river valley, south of Skoplje. The place name appears elsewhere as Eutzapolis, the Greek transliteration of Ovčepolje (sheep's field); see Ephraim 8516; critical apparatus of Heisenberg's text, p. 118: G, H. See Jireček, Heerstrasse, 70, for the name. To my knowledge, Akropolites is the only source to give this form of the name with the initial N. However, this reading should perhaps not be rejected; see below 145,9, for reasons.

Confirmation of Akropolites' description of the conditions at Neustapolis can be found in Theodore's letter which tells of the extreme discomfort he and his troops suffered as a result of the scarcity of water and food: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 248-250.

118,20. Stroummitta(Strumica, ancient Tiberiopolis), between the Vardar and Strymon rivers, southeast of Stip; see L. Petit, Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe à Constantinople 6 (1900), 94-96; Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, col. 63.

113,23-119,1. George Mouzalon was the Emperor Theodore's closest friend. He was not from a distinguished family but was one of the 'pages' (παῖδοπούλα) brought up at court along with Theodore; see Pachymeres, I, 24,5-6; 41, 18-42,2; Gregoras I, 62,3-8; Angold, Byzantine Government, 176-177. Upon Theodore's accession to the throne George was made megas domestikos and later, when Theodore returned from his Bulgarian campaign, he bestowed many other titles on him; see below 124,4-6. Because of their special relationship, Theodore called George his 'brother' as had the Emperor John with respect to Demetrios Tornikes; see the lemma to Theodore's Κοσμικῇ Δήλωσις, dedicated to Mouzalon: ὄν...καλεῖσθαι τοῦτον ἰδελφὸν ἡξίωσε (ed. Festa, Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana 12 (1899), 97). It is not known what relationship, if any, George Mouzalon had with John Mouzalon, the mystikos (above 67,7-9). See Polemis, Doukai, 148-149, for the name, which appears in the sources from the eleventh century.

Mouzalon stayed behind in Asia Minor during the Bulgarian campaign and never held a military command, as had previous holders of the title megas domestikos; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 183-184. None of his letters to Theodore II has survived while Theodore's letters to him are a major source for the campaign.

119,1-2. For this see below 136,15-16.

119,6-7. A σταθμός or station was synonymous for an ἡμερήσιος ὁρδμός or day's journey. Akropolites himself gives no indication of the distance normally covered in a day but see E. Schilbach (Byzantinische Ietrologie, 36 and note 7) who calculates between 47-80 km. a day.

119,8. Didymoteichon, along with Adrianople, had fallen into Bulgarian hands in 1230 as a result of Theodore Komnenos' defeat at Klokotnitsa (42,11-12; 23-24). It is to be supposed, then, that both towns returned

to Greek rule in 1246 when the Hebros river became the boundary between the two powers (78,17-18). This can only be speculation, however, since they are not mentioned by Akropolites between Asen's victory in 1230 and Theodore II's campaign in 1254/5, when they are obviously under his control.

119,9-15. The fortresses along the Arda river had been taken early in the campaign (above 113,10-18). Patmos is thought to have been located in this area but no archaeological remains of the fortress have been found; see Asdracha, La Région, 153.

Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos (not to be confused with his grandson, Alexios Philanthropenos, who staged a revolt in Asia Minor in the reign of Andronikos II) is mentioned by Akropolites only in this passage. According to Asdracha, he was doux of the Achridos theme; she deduces this from Akropolites' statement that he was left ἐς φυλακὴν τῶν ἐν Ἀχρῖδῳ ('Les Rhodopes', 279-280). Under Michael VIII, Philanthropenos was protostrator and mezas doux; see Pachymeres I, 206,4-15.

119,16-120,2. Tzepaina eluded the Emperor's attempts at conquest twice, early in the campaign (see above 113,24-114,19) and again at the end. In a letter he described it as τέλειον ἀπολέμητον (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 281,57). See note on 113,24-114,2.

By the Haimos mountains (119,18-19) Akropolites means Sredna Gora, separated from the Rhodope by the Hebros river; see Asdracha, La Région, 4, note 7.

120,10-13. In other words, they had travelled for four days when they reached Makrolibada, half way between Adrianople and Stenimachos; see Asdracha, La Région, table 1, p. 48. The Greek name, which means literally 'long meadow' was translated into the Turkish equivalent, Uzundžova; the toponymic survives today in Bulgaria as Uzundžovo; see Asdracha, La Région,

11 and note 4. Makrolibada was named in the terms of the thirty year peace treaty between Omortag and Leo V in 815-816; see Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, 72-73.

121,25-27. Batkounion (Batkoun), on the northern slopes of the Rhodope to the west of Plovdiv, is described both as a city (πόλις) and a village (κώμη) by Akropolites (121,25; 123,2). The rich agricultural plain of the Hebros, at whose centre Pazardžik lies, supplied it with the provisions which Theodore's army plundered; see also below 123,1-2; Jireček, Heerstrasse, 37-38; Asdracha, La Région, 169.

122,1-2. Manuel Laskaris, a brother of the Emperor Theodore I, was active during the reign of his grandnephew Theodore II. Manuel was given the honorary title of protosebastos (123,4-5) and a military command. He appears to have received the title and the command immediately after his failure in properly reconnoitering the area around Tzepaina (122,5-29). Theodore was much less lenient in dealing with the incompetence of Tornikes and Strategopoulos (above 114,2-19). For Manuel's command see below 123,3-5; Asdracha, 'Les Rhodopes', 283-284.

122,3-4. Constantine Margarites, a man of undistinguished parentage who had served in the army of the Neokastra theme was raised to the rank of tzaousios and then megas tzaousios of the imperial retinue by the Emperor John, a title which he created at that time, it seems; see 123,6-15; Guillard, Recherches, I, 596-598, for the title. When he was assigned to reconnoitre the area of Tzepaina in 1255, he was archon of the imperial retinue, a title which was not as elevated in the hierarchy of titles as was megas tzaousios, the title he had held under the Emperor John; see Guillard, Recherches, I, 597-598. However, Theodore soon promoted him to the position of megas archon (123,15-17), entrusting him with the command of the army at Didymoteichon, along with Manuel Laskaris. The title of megas archon, again apparently a new creation, was two ranks above that of megas tzaousios, at least in the fourteenth century; see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 133,16,18.

It is difficult to distinguish between the functions of the tzaousios and the archon, especially since both titles are qualified by the phrase τῆς αὐτοῦ τάξεως or ἀλλαγῆου, i.e., the archon or tzaousios of his (the Emperor's) retinue; see 122,3; 123,14, 16; and note on 123,11-17. However, it seems that they were two distinct titles (albeit low in the hierarchy of ranks) since Pseudo-Kodinos names each separately: Verpeaux, 138,16,18; 182,15-16, 18-21. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the megas tzaousios was in charge of maintaining order in the imperial retinue during court ceremonies while the megas archon had no function at the time of his writing (182,15-16; 18-21). Angold claims that the megas archon was, in effect, military commander of the imperial retinue (Byzantine Government, 186). Akropolites gives no evidence one way or the other, but it is quite possible that both titles were dignities with no particular functions attached to them. As illustrated in many instances, Emperors at Nicaea gave military commands to holders of honorific, non-functional titles.

122,5-10. Theodore had not accompanied his father on his campaigns in the west either in 1242 or in 1246; see above 67,3 ff; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 124-125. Therefore, he did not have first-hand knowledge of the terrain.

122,25-29. For Tzepaina's high situation (300-600 meters) see 113, 24 ff.; Asdracha, La Région, 171, 177.

123,6-9. Akropolites here describes the titles Constantine held using the word τάξις whereas above (122,3) he speaks of the ἀλλαγῆου. Both words are equivalent to τάγμα and refer to a regiment of the army assigned to the imperial corps or retinue; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 186, note 30; Helsenberg, 'Index Nominum', 341.

The megas attached to the titles tzaousios and archon respectively in Margarites' case, did not change the functions, if any, attached

to the title but raised the rank of the title-holder. See above 122,3-4, for a discussion of Margarites' functions.

124,4-7. The accumulation of titles with which Mouzalon was honoured can be attributed to an exaggerated display of affection on Theodore II's part. It is probable that Mouzalon was protosebastos, protovestiarios and megas stratopedarches at the same time and not at different stages. The lemma to Theodore's Κοσμικῇ Διήλωσις, dedicated to Mouzalon, mentions all three titles; see Festa, Giornale della Societa Asiatica 11 (1897), 98. Of the three, protovestiarios is the one which Akropolites (133,22; 154,14-15), Pachymeres (I, 54,21), and Gregoras (I, 62,17) use when referring to Mouzalon. Alexios Raoul held this honorary title until Theodore II took it away from him to bestow it on Mouzalon; see above 66,19; 92,17; Pachymeres I, 23,18-20. This act was only one of Theodore's moves to take honours and dignities away from men who held office by virtue of their high birth and to bestow them on men according to their ability and merit; see Pachymeres I,37,11-38,1. There is no way of determining Mouzalon's ability since he never held a military command but seems, rather, to have been honoured by Theodore because of his affection for him; see Pachymeres I, 41,19-42,12. However Gregoras claims that Mouzalon had excellent judgement and was a good administrator (I,62,14-16).

The 'megas' of the title megas stratopedarches was created specially for Mouzalon according to the lemma of the Κοσμικῇ Διήλωσις : ἐκ νέου καινούργησας τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄξιωμα (Festa, Giornale 11 (1897),98). However, it is difficult to ascertain what his role was as such. Pseudo-Kodinos says that the holder of this title was in charge of provisioning the army (ed. Verpeaux, 174,10-13) but we have no evidence that Mouzalon performed this function. However, Pachymeres (I,54,15-55,1) does speak of his part in carrying out certain changes in the army ordered by Theodore. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 186,193,252; Guillard, Recherches, I, 498-513.

124,7-8. The title of megas domestikos does not seem to have had any military command attached to it in the cases of George and Andronikos Mouzalon, as it had for Andronikos Palaiologos (83,17-84,9) and Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes (89,14-19). See Angold, Byzantine Government, 184-185.

124,9-10. Is this John Angelos the same man as the commander of the garrison at Melnik (above 115,7-8)? It does not seem likely since Akropolites is scathing about the Angelos of this passage and complimentary about the commander at Melnik. See note on 101,9-18, for comments on the various John Angeloi.

124,13-14. For Karyanites, see below 159,19-160,3 and Theodore's reference to him in a letter to Mouzalon (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 227,8-9). Pachymeres (I,63,7-8) also mentions his honorary title of protovestiaries. For this title see note on 26,20-22.

124,14-18. Akropolites means that he also was given a title on this occasion. See the Introduction, 39-40, for a discussion of the passage.

LXI. 124,25-125,7. Most of the action of this, the second campaign (spring-summer 1256) against the Bulgarians took place around Adrianople, Didymoteichon and east of the Hebros, along the Rhegina river. It was a defensive, not an offensive, campaign. See Gregoras (I,56,9-13) for similar remarks on the composition of Theodore's army.

125,17. Theodore had left Manuel Laskaris and Constantine Margarites in charge of the army at Didymoteichon; see 123,4-20.

125,29. Rhegina (Ergene), a tributary of the Hebros, branches off to the east into Thrace.

126,1-4. The Emperor had ordered them not to leave their encampment which was between Didymoteichon and the Hebros; see 123,20-28. According to Skoutariotes, they disobeyed and went to the area of Adrianople to a place called Barsanika (Bersinikera); see Addimenta, no. 40.

This was the second time that Laskaris and Margarites were unsuccessful in their commands (see above 122,1-29).

126,15. Boulgarophygon (Eski Baba), south-east of Adrianople:

see Jireček, Heerstrasse, 100.

126,19-20. The $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ had no clear practical meaning in Byzantine times as a unit of measure. The term is used by Byzantine authors who, like Akropolites, resort to the vocabulary of the ancients as a literary device. When an author does use the word it is difficult to know to which of the many ancient $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha$ he is referring. Based on Schilbach's calculations, 400 stadia would be almost double the usual day's journey and, therefore, anywhere from 94 to 160 km.. The Emperor Theodore's reputation for swiftness, mentioned above (117,16-19), was certainly well-earned.

126,25. Skoutariotes gives some information which makes the outcome of the chase seem less unsuccessful. According to him, the Emperor gave George Nestongos, pinkernes, and a Cuman, Kleopas, a detachment of the army and sent them against the elusive Cumans. They were successful in finding them (perhaps because of the help of Kleopas, a Cuman himself) and killed many; see Additamenta, no. 42. George Nestongos' name does not appear in Akropolites' account but he is known from Pachymeres (I, 65,12-66,4; 75,14-15). Kleopas is mentioned in a letter of Theodore II to Mouzalon (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 259,28 ff.). Skoutariotes' account of this second campaign of the Emperor Theodore contains many additions to Akropolites' narrative; he was in all likelihood present on the campaign. For a discussion of the value of his narrative see the Introduction, 58-60.

LXII. 126,29-127,1. Other sources for the peace treaty are Theodore's letter to his subjects in Anatolia, describing the terms of the treaty (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 279-282) and a letter of Niketas Karantenos to the abbot of St. John's monastery, Patmos, written soon after the treaty

was concluded; see MM, VI, 198; new edition by Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα' 288, 295 and note 26.

The date usually given for these negotiations, 'slightly before 6 August 1256', should be revised in favour of a more precise date which is supplied by Skoutariotes: 29 June. The former date is based on the fact that Akropolites relates an incident which took place on the day of the Metamorphosis (6 August), directly after discussing the treaty; see 127, 24-27; Wirth, Regesten, no. 1893 c. However, Skoutariotes' account of this campaign is very precise in chronological details and should be accepted; see ed. Sathas, 525, 1-5.

127, 2-4. Akropolites' reference to the mediator (μεσότης) in the peace settlement as ὁ 'Ρωσος Οὔρος or ὁ Οὔρος has led to the misunderstanding that the man in question was Stephen Uroš, king of Serbia; see Jireček, Geschichte der Bulgaren, 266, note 9. However, that Akropolites is referring to a Russian is clear from Theodore's letter announcing the peace treaty in which he calls the mediator 'Ρώσων ἄρχων and the 'bear' (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 282, 40; 282, 87-88). The Russian can be identified with Rostislav Michailovič, son-in-law of the Hungarian king Bela IV and father-in-law of Michael Asen; see Jireček, Archiv für Slavische Philologie 21 (1899), 622-626, esp. 622-4; Nicol, Despotate, 158. Akropolites does not call the man by his Christian name but by his title Οὔρος, the Greek transliteration of the Hungarian title 'Ur' or 'Urum'; see Ostrogorsky, 'Urum-Despotes', Zum Byzantinischen Geschichte (Darmstadt, 1973), 153-165; P. Nikov, 'Bŭlgaro-Ungarski Otnoshenifa', SBAN 11 (1920), 60-61. This title was bestowed on Rostislav by his Hungarian father-in-law and he was given a district of northern Serbia over which to rule.

127, 9-10. In his 'letter to the east' Theodore II says that Rostislav was accompanied by some Bulgarians: τῶν προύχόντων λαοῦ τοῦ Βουλγαρικου (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 280, 42-43).

127,10-16. Theodore II claims that he had decided on certain demands to make of the defeated party but the 'appeals' of the 'Russian leader' made him soften and abandon all demands except for the cession of Tzepaina, the only fortress he had been unable to reconquer; see Epistulae, ed. Festa, 280,34-37. Like Akropolites, he states that the old boundaries between the parties were once again to be observed (Epistulae, 281,68-73). He gives these as Philippoupolis, Sofia and Velevousdion (Kiustendil), to the north and west.

127,18-21. In his letter to his subjects Theodore II does not mention the gifts given to Rostislav, perhaps because this might reduce the dramatic quality of the terms of the agreement.

127,21-23. According to Skoutariotes, who gives precise chronological indications, the Emperor waited for Tzepaina to be ceded from the end of June (29) until August (ed. Sathas, 525,1-5).

LXIII. The episode related here brings out the relationship of Theodore II and Akropolites, as well as their characters. It is a self-indulgent passage but helps to explain Akropolites' animosity towards the Emperor. Skoutariotes has a shorter version of the incident: ed. Sathas, 525,6-526,13.

127,25-29. The feast of the Transfiguration or Metamorphosis: 6 August; see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 245,7-10, for the Emperor's part in the celebration of this feast. While the Emperor was on campaign, the liturgy was celebrated in a tent attached to the imperial tent. See the synodal decision dating to some time after 1204, authorising measures to be taken to reinstate this custom: A. Pappadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη' 1 (1891), 341; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1302.

128,21-129,2. The rumour which the Emperor relates was false, it seems. Nothing more is said of it subsequently.

130,3-4. For Akropolites' title at this time see the Introduction, 39-40.

130,18-19. In an attempt to avoid a word or expression of everyday speech Akropolites uses ἀειδαρος instead of γάϊδαρος for 'donkey' or 'ass'. This form is based on an etymology of the word found in glossaries: ἀεὶ δέ (ι)ρω; see Etymologicum Graecae Linguae Gudianum, ed. F. Sturzius (Leipzig, 1818), γαιδαρος; παρὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν δαίρειν, ἥ παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ δαιρόμενος. Krumbacher believes that the Emperor's comment was a popular saying but he does not give any parallels; see Mittelgriechischen Sprichwörter (Munich, 1893), 237.

130,20-21. The Emperor may be referring to his mother's, the Empress Eirene's, use of this epithet with respect to Akropolites; see 63,17-25. Theodore elsewhere refers to Akropolites in a manner which betrays irritation or lack of sympathy with him: τὸν πάνσοφον Ἀκροπολίτην ἐναβρυνόμενον ('priding himself on'); τινες πολισταὶ πανακλεοῦς ἀκροπόλεως: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 36,9; 251.18.

130,29 ff. Pachymeres describes Theodore as hot-headed (θερμὸς) and blames his illness, epilepsy, for a great deal of his actions: I,23,16-18; 32,1-3.

131,6-7. Akropolites instructed Theodore in mathematics and logic in the 1240's. See the Introduction, 26.

131, 8-9. The meaning of this passage is rather elusive. I believe a pun on the name Akropolites is intended. The expression πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα is usually used to draw attention to the literal meaning of a name, i.e. θεράπων...καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα. ὁ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔργῳ τελέσας: Vita Theravontis, ed. Deubner (Leipzig, 1907), 125,9. Perhaps Akropolites was an ἄκρος πολίτης, in name and in fact.

131,10-13. The κορυνοφόροι or mace-bearers may be identified with the Bardariots mentioned below (131,26 ff.). They were members of the imperial retinue whose duty it was to maintain order. See Pseudo-Kodinos

who says they wore *μαγλάβια* (short whips) with which they whipped those who deserved punishment (ed. Verpeaux, 181,29). It is thought that the Manglabitae, guards of the imperial retinue armed with *μαγλάβια*, who drop out of the sources in the eleventh century, were replaced by the Bardariotai; see N. Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 328.

131,26-29. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, the Bardariots were Turks who had been settled of old in the region of the Bardar river and were named after their new home (ed. Verpeaux, 182,6-10). But it is now generally accepted that the people who settled in the Bardar region in the tenth and eleventh centuries were Hungarians, not Turks; see Asdracha, La Région, 75-76. See note on 131,10-13, for the function of the Bardariots. The *primmikerios* was at their head; R. Guillard, Recherches, I, 300,304; A. Honlweg, Beiträge zur Verwaltungs Geschichte des Östromischen Reiches unter den Komnenen (Munich, 1965), 61-63.

See the case of a George Pissas who was so desperate to avoid service as a Bardariot that he became a monk: Laurent, Regestes, no. 1299; A. Pappadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα 1, 466-467.

132,30-133,9. The engagement between Nikephoros and Maria, the daughter of the Emperor Theodore II and his Bulgarian wife Helen, had taken place five years earlier, in 1251; see above 88,15 ff. According to Skoutariotes, the meeting between Theodore and Theodora took place in the region of Boleron at a place called Lentzas, at the time of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September). The Emperor was on his way to Thessalonike from his encampment on the Rhegina river (ed. Sathas, 526,22-30; Additamenta, no. 44).

132,10-18. The town of Servia in northern Thessaly and Dyrrachion (Durazzo) on the Adriatic, had been in the possession of Michael's uncle, Theodore Komnenos, from the 1220's. For Dyrrachion see above 25,12; Servia: Nicol, Despotate, 58-59; Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, cols. 335-338.

A letter of Niketas Karantenos to the abbot of St. John's, Patmos, refers to the cession of 'Dyrrachion and other large kastra'; see MM, VI, 198; Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα', 288, 299.

133,31-134,2. Langadas: north-east of Thessalonike, 'not far' from that city: Kantakouzenos II, 236, 8; Actes de Chilandar, ed. L. Petit, VV 17 (1910), no. 68, p. 154, 1.

LXIV. 134,3-6. According to Skoutariotes, the Patriarch Arsenios performed the marriage ceremony in Thessalonike (Additamenta, no. 46). See also the Introduction, 60, and note on 139,25-140,2, for the Patriarch's presence in Thessalonike.

Nikephoros had already been designated Despot by the Emperor John at the time of his betrothal to Maria; see 92,8-10.

134,7 ff. The sequence of events set forth by Akropolites -- treaty with the Bulgarians, marriage of Nikephoros and Maria, news of Michael Palaiologos' flight -- is reproduced in the letter of Niketas Karantenos to the abbot of St. John's on Patmos, a letter which dates to 1256; see Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα', 288-289.

Akropolites' account of Michael Palaiologos' flight to the Turks (1256) is borne out, in its main lines, by Pachymeres (I, 24, 15-26,9) who supplies some additional details. Michael's own version of this episode in his life can be found in his typika for the monasteries of St. Michael and St. Demetrios; see Dmitrievski, Opisanie, 790-791; Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 451-453.

134,7-14. Akropolites claims to have mentioned Michael's title of megas konostablos and appointment above (ὁ λόγος φθάσας ... δεδῆλωκε) but he has not. Michael's appointment dates to 1253, when he was cleared of charges of treason and was given in marriage to the Emperor John's niece. Before that date he held a command in Serres and Melnik; see 84,1-4. Michael is the first known megas konostablos but

Pachymeres indicates that this title was not new; it was 'of old' (ἐκ παλαιού) bestowed on men who had the whole of the Latin contingent under their command (I,21,3-5). The title is not, however, a continuation of that of ἡγούμενος τοῦ σταβλίου (last attested in the 10th c.), as Guillard claims (Recherches, I, 470 ff.). It appears rather to have been borrowed from the Latins, possibly before the thirteenth century, if Pachymeres' statement is to be believed. Anna Komnena mentions a general under Bohemund who was a konostablos (II, 28,5-7).

Michael's appointment was to a military command. As megas konostablos he had control of the Latin soldiers in the army (Pachymeres I, 54,15-16) and he fought the Latins in Constantinople from the Asiatic shore. Both Michael and Pachymeres (I,24,15-17) state this; see Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 451-453. His area of command was Bithynia and the Optimates region, opposite Constantinople; see Pachymeres, I, 24,15-16 and below on 135,22. Although Akropolites describes his function only in general terms -- τὴν τῆς...χωρὰς ἡγεμονίαν (134,12-13), it is possible to be more precise about his official position. Michael may have been kephale and/or doux of Bithynia and Optimates. In fact, the language of Michael's letter to the stratarchai under his command in Bithynia (below 135,21-22), stressing that law and order must be maintained in his absence, is reminiscent of the standard formula for a protagma addressed to a kephale; see Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη VI, 642-643; Angold, Byzantine Government, 293-294, for the duties of a kephale.

134,22-24. Akropolites claims to possess knowledge of Michael's thoughts. He probably knew Michael personally since he was married to a relation of his; see the Introduction,

134,24-135,12. The reason for Michael's flight offered by Akropolites is repeated by all the other sources. The specific form of punishment Michael feared, blinding, is put forth by Pachymeres as well (I,25,1-2).

Theodore's acts of mutilation, especially against members of the aristocracy, are well-attested. Michael himself attributed his difficulties to φθόρος, the jealousy which led others to make malicious statements to the Emperor and to raise fears in his mind; see Dmitrievski, Opisanie, 790; Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 453. Manuel Holoboklos, in an oration addressed to Michael in the 1260's, again refers to φθόρος as the cause of Michael's flight to the Turks; see Treu, Programm des Königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam (1907), 34,23-34.

135,15. The Sultan was Izz eddin Kaikaus II. See above 106,2.

135,22. Mesothynia appears to have been another name for the Optimate theme, north of Bithynia; see Alexios III's chrysobull (1198) for Venice: prouincia Mesothynie (TT,I,269). See also D. Zakythinos, EEBS 25 (1955), 130-132; Angold, Byzantine Government, 245, note 11.

The stratarchai, 'generals' or 'commanders' who were under Michael's command may have been called kastrophylakes technically, since they are described as being in charge of guarding the towns and fortresses. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 193-194.

LXV. 136,11-22. Turkomans, nomadic tribesmen, were especially numerous on the frontiers of the Seljuk empire, in areas which were an administrative no-man's land. They were particularly active in their raids on the Mander valley; see S. Vryonis, The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor (Berkeley, 1971), 133-134; 185-194, for complaints of Turkoman attacks in other periods.

136,24-26. There were many precedents for Byzantines who took refuge among the Turks. See above for Manuel Komnenos (61,9-10; 15-16), Alexios III (14,8-10); also J. Cahen, Polychronion, Festschrift Franz Dölger (1966), 145-149.

136,29-137,1. 'They judged him worthy of monarchy' is Akropolites' way of slipping in Michael's worthiness to rule. Even the Turks could

see this in him!

137,9-13. This is a reference to the Mongol invasion of 1256 led by Bayju; see Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 269-273; Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 275.

Axara (Greek transliteration of the Turkish Aksaray), located in Cappadocia, south-east of lake Tatta. The fourteenth century chronicler Baibars Mansûrî states that Aksaray was one of the principal cities of the Seljuk sultanate on the eve of the Mongol invasions; see Cahen, B 14 (1939), 137. It is noteworthy that Akropolites does not mention its 'pure', i.e. ancient name (Archelaia, Koloneia), nor does he take care to point out that it is a foreign name, as he usually does; see above 39, 18-19; 54,1-4. His use of the Turkish name is perhaps a sign that the original name had been forgotten. On this see Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 145. However, at least at the time of Choniates' writing, both the ancient and Turkish name were known. (CSHB, 72,7-8; ed. van Dieten, 53,45-46).

137,13-25. Michael himself claims that he led Turkish troops (ed. Dmitrievski, Opisanie, 791) while all the other Greek sources say that his soldiers were 'Romans'; see Gregoras I, 58,19; Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 158,10-12; Karantenos, ed. Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα', 289. Pachymeres claims that he led his contingent of men under the imperial standard (σημαλαίς βασιλικαῖς) 'to appease the Emperor Theodore should he hear about it' (I,25,19).

138,1-7. Akropolites gives the Greek transliteration of the Arabic amir ākhūr, a title equivalent to the κόμης τοῦ σταβλίου. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica II, 68; Encyclopaedia of Islam I (1960), 442; Guillard, Recherches, I, 469 ff.

138,10-16. The πεκλάρπακς, Greek transliteration of the Turkish bağlärbağı, beglerbeg or 'commander of the commanders' was the commander-in-chief of the army. The beglerbeg under discussion in this passage was Tavtaş, beglerbeg in Kastamonu, a town and province in north-west

Asia Minor which had fallen to the Seljuks in the twelfth century.

On Kastamonu and its government see Cahen, 'Questions d'histoire de la province de Kastamonu au XIII^e siècle', Sevuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi (Journal of Seljuk Studies) 3 (1971), 145-152; ibid., Pre-Ottoman Turkey, 243-244.

LXVI. 139, 2 ff. Akropolites gives an account of the posts filled by Theodore II's favourites, men not mentioned before, with the exceptions of Michael Laskaris and Akropolites. The posts would seem to have been military ones. See Angold (Byzantine Government, 291-294) for a discussion of the functions of a kephale, the title he postulates for these men. In general, for the organisation of the 'European' provinces of the Nicaean Empire see D. Angelov, 'K voprosu o praviteliakh', BS 12 (1951), 56-74; esp. 59-63; L. Maksimović, Vizantijska provincijska uprava, 27 ff., English summary, 168-170, 174-185.

139,2-7. Michael Laskaris, brother of the former Emperor Theodore I, becomes more prominent from this point on in the narrative. Akropolites is never very favourable to Michael, hence his $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\chi\iota\nu\ \delta\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$ (l. 4); see also above 109,10 ff.

Paphlagonia, the narrow coastal region along the Black Sea whose major city was Pontic Herakleia, had come under Nicaean control by 1214; see 18,1-4.

139,7-10. Xyleas, known only from Akropolites, was held in high regard by the Emperor Theodore (see 141,14-18), even though Akropolites himself had reasons to doubt his merit; see 145, 23-146,12. Akropolites' snide comment that Xyleas ('wood-cutter') was an appropriate name for the man may be his way of saying that Xyleas was from an undistinguished family. The title of skouterios, not attested before this case, seems to have been purely honorary. See Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 183,11-15; 196, 12-17.

139,10-11. Theodore Kalampakes is known only from Akropolites but members of his family are attested in the area of Smyrna; see MH,IV, 129, 267-269; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 165. He is the first recorded tatas of the court. Guillard believes that this title was bestowed on the tutor of the heir apparent to the throne (Recherches I, 577). Although this was so in the late thirteenth century, it is not known whether the same was true at Nicaea; see Andreeva, Ocherki, 41-42.

139,12-13. Constantine Chabaron apparently grew up at the court of the Emperor John, along with Michael Palaiologos; see below 164,16-19 and Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 451. Angold (Byzantine Government, 292) claims that Constantine was himself from Albanon, basing this idea on a letter of the Emperor Theodore to Mouzalon which states that the Emperor is sending Mouzalon a horse from Albanon which is a gift of Chabaron (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 250,1-17). However, as the letter was written while Theodore was in the west (ed. Festa, 250,15-17), Chabaron could already have been at his post in Albanon. In fact Theodore uses the word 'ἀκρατοφνής' (250,11), 'pure', in speaking of Chabaron, to say that Mouzalon should not think the gift 'barbarian' for, although from Albanon, its donor is 'pure'. Members of the Chabaron family from the vicinity of Thebes are attested in the twelfth century; see N. Svoronos, Recherches sur le Cadastre Byzantin (Paris, 1959), 72.

139,13-14. For Akropolites' duties as praitor see on 84,7-9 and below, 142,12-15. Although Akropolites does not specifically say so, his predecessors in this post, based in Thessalonike, Andronikos Palaiologos (1246-1247), and Theodore Philes (1247-?), probably also held the title of praitor; see on 84,7-9. Theodore Philes was not in favour during Theodore II's reign and may have been removed from his post in 1254, upon Theodore's accession.

139,14-22. Akropolites is referring to an episode which took place two

months earlier; see LXIII. A letter of the Emperor Theodore to Mouzalon, written during the Bulgarian campaign, shows that Akropolites was outspoken in his criticism of the Emperor's policies. In one letter Theodore appears to be saying that Akropolites did not approve of Theodore's leaving Mouzalon behind in Asia Minor (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 251,19-21).

LXVII. 139,23-25. Skoutariotes dates the Emperor's departure from Thessalonike to 23 October (ed. Sathas, 529,9-10). However, Theodore did not actually leave European territory until the beginning of December; see Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 530,12-13; below 143,23-24.

139,25-140,2. Pope Alexander IV sent Constantine, Bishop of Orvieto, along with other legates ad partes Grecorum in July 1256; see Schillmann, 118,127. Akropolites' statement οὐς ἀπεκβαλεῖν βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἔμελλον has been interpreted as meaning that the Emperor refused to meet with the legates; see Laurent, EO 34 (1935), 42; Schillmann, 112. However, this idea arises from a misunderstanding of the word ἀπεκβάλλω which simply means to 'dispatch'. Furthermore, other sources show that the legates did in fact meet with the Emperor Theodore and the Patriarch Arsenios in Thessalonike. See the letter written on behalf of the Patriarch by Manuel Disypatos, Metropolitan of Thessalonike which refers to this meeting: Laurent, Regestes, no. 1332 and EO 34 (1935), 26-55. Skoutariotes corroborates the fact that the legates were in Thessalonike at the same time as the Emperor (ed. Sathas, 529, 14-15). See Laurent, EO 34 (1935), 47, for the outcome of the meeting. 140,3-7. Akropolites' trip took place in the late autumn and winter of 1256-1257 (see 140,18-20). Servia and Dyrrachion had been acquired about a month earlier by cession from the Despot Michael (133,12-15). Kastoria, Ochrid, and Albanon came under Nicaean authority in 1252/3; see 90,18-19; 91,9; 92,21. Ochrid was the key to the Albanon area; see 140,5; 142,8-9; A. Ducellier, Travaux et l'émouires 3 (1968), 367-368.

140,10-12. Chounavia is the name of the region along the Adriatic coast between Dyrrachion and the Mati river; see Meliarakes, 'Ιστορία 459-460, note 2; G. Stadtmüller, 'Forschungen zum Albanischen Frühgeschichte', 171, note 53. Anna Komnena mentions a mountain pass called 'Petra' (III, 106,7) which is probably located in the Kake Petra, in the Chounavia region; see Zakythinos, EEBS 21 (1951), 199, note 9. For Dibra, east of the Drin river, see Chomatenos, ed. *Pitra*, 517: *θέματι τῶν Δερβῶν*. The fact that Akropolites does not refer to this northern region as Albanon does not mean (as Ducellier, Travaux et Mémoires 3 (1968), 368, thinks) that he is making a distinction between Albanon in the Shkumbi river valley and the Mati river valley region to the north. Akropolites describes Kroai, situated in this upper region between the Ishmi and the Mati, as τὸ ἐν τῷ 'Αλβάνῳ προύριον (92,1-2). Therefore, for Akropolites, 'Albanon' includes both regions. See also Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 529,23) who adds that Chounavia is a 'region of Albanon'.

140,15. The men described as 'managing fiscal matters' (τοῖς τὰ δημόσια διεκπεραιομένοις πράγματα) are probably to be identified with the praktors, subordinates of the doux of a theme, who had financial as well as judicial duties; see MM, IV, 257; Angold, Byzantine Government, 258; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 125-126; see on 142, 13-14.

LXVIII. 140, 22-141,6. Maria, sister of Theodora Petraliphina (wife of Michael II Komnenos Doukas) and daughter of John Petraliphas (90,19) is mentioned ('Phrantzaina') in a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1307) as the former owner of movable property within the kastron of Kanina, on the Albanian coast to the south of Dyrrachion. See P.J. Alexander, 'A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in favor of the see of Kanina in Albania', B 15 (1940-1941), 180,61-62, 197-200. (On the form of the name Sphrantzes see V. Laurent, 'Σφραντζῆς et non Φραντζῆς', BZ 44 (1951), 373-378.) Maria may have been in possession of property in

Kanina, perhaps through her former husband Sphrantzes, at the time of this episode with Chabaron. Ephraim (9158-9161) actually states that Chabaron was at Kanina when Maria won him over.

142,9-12. Isaac Nestongos is not to be confused with the first cousin of the Emperor John who was involved in a conspiracy against the Emperor early in his reign; see above 36,19-23; 37,10-11; Polemis, Doukai, 150. For the title epi tes basilikes trapezes see Guillard, Recherches, I, 237-239; Angold, Byzantine Government, 291.

142,13-14. ὁ ἐνεργῶν or ὁ διενεργῶν had both financial and judicial duties; see note on 140,15.

142,20. E. Vranousses claims that Akropolites is the first Byzantine author to refer to the Albanians by their ethnic name: τὸ τῶν Ἀλβανικῶν ἔθνος. However, Anna Komnena (II, 60, 14-15: τῶν καλουμένων Ἀρβανιτῶν) and Skylitzes (CSHB, II, 739,10: ἔκ Ἀρβανιτῶν) would seem to disprove this assertion. See E. Vranousses, 'Οἱ ὄροι "Ἀλβανοί" καὶ "Ἀρβανίται" καὶ ἡ πρώτη μνεῖα τοῦ δμῶνυμου λαοῦ τῆς Βαλκανικῆς εἰς τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ ΙΑ αἰῶνος', Ἐθνικὸν Ἰδρυμα Ἑρευνῶν (Athens, 1970), 207-254, esp. 233-235.

142,21-22. Akropolites first uses the name 'apostate' or 'renegade' of the Despot Michael in the course of relating the events of 1252: 89, 2 ff. Note that Akropolites drops Michael's title of Despot when he calls him an 'insurgent', ἀντάρτης: 143,8-9; 145,1.

143,4-5. Kantakouzenos (I, 542,6) refers to a Siderokastron near Serres but this place cannot be identified with the Siderokastron of this passage since it is too far to the east of Prilep and Prespa; see on 77, 17-25. The Siderokastron of this passage is unidentified.

LXIX. 143,23-24. The Emperor Theodore II and Akropolites had parted in Thessalonike at the end of October; see 139,23-24. The Emperor's whereabouts from that time until the beginning of December when he crossed the

Hellespont (according to Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 530,12-14) are not known.

143,25. For Sardis, on the banks of the Pactolos, at the foot of Mt. Tmolos, see C. Foss, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis. According to Skoutariotes, the Emperor did not reach Sardis until after the new year 1257.

143,26-144,2. The Sultan was Izz eddin Kaikaus II, whose mother was a Christian and whose Christian uncles played a considerable role at his court; see Pachymeres I, 131,2-3; Ibn Bibi, ed. Duda, 265; C. Cahen, B 14 (1939), 135-136. It was to Kaikaus II's court that Michael Palaiologos had fled; see LXV.

144,2-15. Skoutariotes' account differs from Akropolites' and should be preferred since Akropolites was in Europe at this time while Skoutariotes was most probably close to the scene of the events he describes. The terms of the agreement were arranged at Magnesia, not Sardis; see Skoutariotes, Additamenta, 295, 7-9; Foss, Byzantine Sardis, 78. In addition to Laodikeia (Ladik), Chonai and two minor fortresses were ceded to Theodore: Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 531,4-7; Additamenta, no. 48. Both Chonai and Laodikeia had passed into the hands of the Turks in 1206 as a result of a treaty between Theodore I and the Sultan Kai-khusraw; see Choniates, CSHB, 842,8-12; ed. van Dieten, 638,65-68. They remained under Turkish control until the time of this treaty (1257); but by 1259-1261 the Turcomans had seized them from the Greeks. See X. de Planhol in Laodicee du Lycos (Quebec-Paris, 1969), 403-403; Cahen, 'Notes pour l'Histoire des Turcomans d'Asie Mineure au XIIIe siècle', Journal Asiatique 239 (1951), 335-340.

144,20-23. Akropolites leaves the question open as to whether Michael or the Emperor took the initiative in resuming relations but Pachymeres (I,25,22-26,9) states that Michael, repenting his actions, appealed to

to the Emperor, using the Bishop of Iconium as mediator. In his typikon for the monastery of St. Demetrios, Michael himself gives the impression that the Emperor begged him to return and sent letters and embassies to this purpose (Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 453.

Akropolites and others mention Theodore's oath to Michael εἰς ἀσφάλειαν : Pachymeres I, 26,5-6; Gregoras I, 59,13-14; Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 158, 19-20. It is thought that the Emperor's oath to his subjects came into existence at Nicaea; see Svoronos, REB 9 (1951), 138-140. This idea is based on this passage and a treatise by Theodore II in which he discusses the rights and obligations of the Emperor to his subjects and vice versa; see E. Lappa-Zizicas, 'Un Traité inédit de Theodore II Lascaris', Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines (Paris, 1950), 119-126. Theodore talks of a bilateral contract in which the oikeios owes the Emperor fidelity and services while the Emperor must give his subject protection and benefits. The treatise, however, describes an informal, unwritten relationship which existed between sovereign and subject but which had no formal expression. It is a philosophical and literary work rather than a literal description of an existing contract. With time, as imperial power weakened, the Emperor's oath to his subject became more frequent; Svoronos, 138-139. But it was still uncommon during Andronikos II's reign. According to Kantakouzenos, Andronikos III had to remind Andronikos II that such an oath of assurance had been sworn by an Emperor to Michael Palaiologos before the latter would return from his self-imposed exile (I, 83, 7-19). Theodore's oath to Michael would seem to have been an exceptional, isolated case.

LXX. 145,1-5. In addition to sending Michael with troops Theodore had the Patriarch Arsenios and the synod publish an interdict on all people living in territory under the control of the Despot Michael; see Laurent,

Regestes, p. 142. Blemmydes comments that this was Theodore's way of subjecting the Despot, since all his other attempts had failed:

Curriculum vitae, 45,11-47,10.

145,4-5. Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 531,18-19) does not mention the size or quality of Michael Palaiologos' troops. The detail is probably supplied by Akropolites as an explanation for Michael's lack of success in the undertaking but it is not inconceivable that the information is true since Akropolites saw the soldiers himself; see 148,20-24. Theodore's suspicion of Palaiologos may have led him to give the man poor forces.

145, 8-9. Axios was the ancient name of the Bardar; see Carile, 'Partitio', 277. The name Naxios appears only in Akropolites, it seems. The presence of the initial N may represent a local dialectic peculiarity, the n having been added to prevent the external hiatus which results when two vowels come together in successive words. See Demetrakes, Μέγα Λεξικόν (Athens, 1949), 4836, 24. This perhaps also applies to the case of Neustapolis-Eutzapolis, above 78,21; 118,16.

145,10-15. Berroia must have capitulated to the Despot Michael a short time earlier since in December of 1256, when Akropolites visited the town, it was in Nicaean control: 139,25; 140,18-19.

145,16-21. Stephen Uroš I, the Kral of Serbia; see Jireček, Geschichte der Serben I (Gotha, 1911), 317.

145,22. Kytzabis (Kičevo), to the east of Dibra.

145,23-146,12. Akropolites, Ephraim (9188-9191) and Skoutariotes (ed. Sathas, 531,25-532,5) are the only sources for the Serbian campaign.

LXXI. 146,13 ff. Akropolites is the main source for the battle at Vodena (Edessa) in 1257; see Nicol, Despotate, 164.

146,23-24. Michael had at least two illegitimate sons, Theodore (Pachymeres I,26,20-21 calls him Manuel) and John (Gregoras I, 47,18-19). Polemis (Douka, 94,97) conjectures that they might have been sons by his mistress, a Gangrene; see the 'Life' of St. Theodora of Arta, ed. Moustoxydes, 45; below 148, 6-7.

146,25. Manuel Lapardas is not known from any other source although a Theodore and a Michael Lapardas are known from documents of the period; see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 114; Laurent, 'Legendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines', EO 31 (1932), 343-344, for a prosopography (incomplete) of the family.

148,4-11. Pachymeres (I,26,20-27,2) claims that Michael Palaiologos killed the Despot Michael's son. Akropolites perhaps has more precise information. Note his use of Τούρκος instead of his usual Πέρσης. This would seem to be the result of a slip of the pen.

LXXII. 149, 3ff. Akropolites is the only source for Michael II's capture of Prilep. Even Skoutariotes does not record this event. See Nicol, Despotate, 165-166.

150,20-21. Note Akropolites' reference to Prilep as τὸ μικρὸν ἔκλεινο... φρούριον, an obvious attempt to minimize the importance of the fortress and of his failure. For Prilep's impressive natural and man-made defences see A. Deroko, Starinar, N.S. 5-6 (1954-1955), 83-104.

150,21-24. Akropolites was eventually imprisoned at Arta; see below 171,17. His tracts 'Against the Latins' were written while he was in prison; see the Introduction, 45.

151,6-11. Manuel Ramatas and Poulachas are not known from any other source.

151,20-22. There is mention of the property of an Akropolites near Skoplje in a document issued by King Milutin (1299/1300), donating various properties to the monastery of St. George; see Grujić, 'Tri Hilendarske povelje', 13: *НУБА АКРОПОЛИТОВА* (Akropolites' field). M. Lascaris conjectured that the Akropolites of the Serbian document is our George Akropolites and that he was given the property as a gift from the Emperor John when Melnik, Skoplje and various other towns came under the Emperor's control in 1246; see B 21 (1951), 265-268. Even if George Akropolites did own property in Skoplje (see Ostrogorsky's remarks to the contrary: B 22 (1952), 161-163), it is unlikely that the Emperor Theodore II could have done anything to safeguard it at this time (1257), since the area was overrun by the enemy. Nicaean was extremely weak, not to say nonexistent. It is more likely that Akropolites is referring to some property of his in Asia Minor.

The horismos or protagma was an imperial document issuing orders or setting down decisions in cases of challenge of a privilege (Dölger-Karayannopoulos, Byzantinische Urkundenlehre, 109). For an example of the kind of horismos which would have been issued to protect Akropolites' property see MM,IV, 256-257: *πρόσταγμα ἀποτρέπον πάντας τοὺς ὡς πλησιαστέας τῶν...κτημάτων καὶ ἀδικοῦντας ταῦτα.*

LXXIII. 152,1-3. Michael Asen succeeded his half-brother Kaliman to the throne in 1246; see above 73,1-6. For his relationship to the Emperor Theodore II, see above 107,14-108,2.

152,4-6. Michael's murder by his cousin Kaliman is not related by Gregoras (I,60,4-6) or Pachymeres (I, 349,8) who merely state that he died. However, a marginal note dated to 1258, written by an Armenian priest living at Trnovo at that time, confirms Akropolites' account that Michael was assassinated by 'Kalajman, the son of his uncle'. See A. Margos, 'Deux Sources Arméniennes du XIII^e siècle concernant certains événements historiques du second Empire bulgare', Etudes Balkaniques, 2-3 (1965), 295-

299. Margos (op. cit., 299) claims that Kaliman was the son of Asen II's 'only brother the sebastokrator Alexander'. For Alexander see above 33,1.

152,6-8. Kaliman probably never ruled as tsar. This may be the force of Akropolites' statement ἔδοξε τὴν...ἀρχὴν σφετερίζασθαι.

152,8-10. The Russian 'Ur', Rostislav Michailovič, Michael Asen's father-in-law, had been the mediator in the peace treaty negotiations of 1256 between the Bulgarians and Nicaea; see above 127,1-4.

152,12-13. According to Pachymeres (I, 349,3-14) and Gregoras (I,60,6-12), since Michael Asen had no children, the next in line to succeed to the throne was Mytzes, Michael's brother-in-law, but as he was not in favour with the Bulgarian magnates, they chose Constantine Tikh (or Tih). He was related to the Nemanjids of Serbia through his mother, a daughter of Stephen II Nemanja; see Pachymeres I, 349,13-14. The name Τοῖχος Constantine's surname, is the Greek transliteration of the Slavic τ χ (calm, quiet), itself a short form of the names Τυχόμυρ, Τυχόκλαβ. See Zlatarski, Istorija, III, 474, note 3; Jireček, Geschichte, 316-317.

152,15-22. Constantine apparently had trouble in asserting his right to rule. Mytzes was in control of the area surrounding Trnovo ; see Pachymeres I, 349,18-350,4. It may have been on account of Constantine's precarious position that he divorced his own wife and married a daughter of the Emperor Theodore II. As Eirene was a granddaughter of Asen II, his marriage to her strengthened his claim to the throne. A portrait of Constantine and Eirene survives in the church at Boyana, outside Sofia. The fresco dates to 1259; see K. Milyatev, The Boyana Murals (Sofia, 1961), pl. 51.

LXXIV. 153,4 ff. Although Akropolites was not in Asia Minor at the time of Theodore's death, his account is similar to that of Skoutariotes who was, by his own admission, privy to information concerning the circumstances surrounding Theodore's last days :
ὡς ὁ πατριάρχης μοι διηγήσατο (ed. Sathas, 534,18-19).

153,4-6. Theodore's symptoms of falling (Pachymeres I, 32,1) and paralysis (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 65,23-27) are similar to his father's; they are both thought to have suffered from epilepsy; see on 101,23-26. According to Pachymeres (I, 32,11-35,15), Theodore attributed his illness to the sorcery of his subjects; see also Blemmydes, Curriculum vitae, 48-50.

153,7-20. Skoutariotes says that Theodore asked the Patriarch to give him a letter of absolution after he had confessed his sins (Additamenta, no. 50). A patriarchal and synodal letter of absolution was apparently issued because Blemmydes claims that Theodore received it, although Blemmydes himself refused to sign it: Curriculum vitae, 47,15-17; Laurent, Regestes, no. 1334.

A note to a synodikon from Cyprus mentions Theodore's taking of monastic vows with the name Theodore; see N. Cappuyns, 'Le Synodicon de Chypre au XIIe siècle', B 10 (1935), 491; Polemis, Doukai, 110, note 10.

153,20-22. Theodore was thirty-six when he died: Gregoras I, 61, 18-19 and above 104,19-23. A marginal note in Vat. Gr. 246 containing Blemmydes' Epitome of Natural Science (PG, CXLII, col. 1256 C) mentions Theodore's death in August of 1258 ; see Mercati, Bessarione 29 (1915), 226-227; also P. Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, 75,3, for the date.

153,23-25. The monastery of Sosandra, founded by the Emperor John, was located in the region of Magnesia. See Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 89-91 and map for its problematic location; also Heisenberg, BZ 14 (1905), 166-168.

It was dedicated to the Virgin or Christ: see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 94-96. See H. Grégoire (Recueil des Inscriptions I (1922), no. 84, 24-25, for the inscription on a sarcophagus at Nymphaion which Grégoire believes to be Theodore's tomb.

153,25-154,1. Akropolites does not mention Theodore's wife, Helen, the daughter of Asen II. They were married very young; see above 50, 16-25; 52,10-11. Helen's death probably dates to before Theodore's accession; see J. Pappadopoulos, Theodore II, 34 and note 2. Their only son, John, named after his grandfather, was born on Christmas day in 1249 or 1250; see Pachymeres I, 35,23; 192,7-8; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 8, p. 75. See Blemmydes' verses on his birth in which he is compared to Christ and his mother to the Virgin: Curriculum vitae, 110-111. Both Theodora and Eudokia are mentioned by Gregoras with respect to their marriages at a later date to a Valincourt and to the count of Bentimiglia: I, 92,21-93,5; Polemis, Doukai, 110, note 17.

154,1-9. It would seem that Maria died before her father for Michael II Komnenos Doukas' 'revolt' can be dated to 1257 (above 141,5 ff.). Nikephoros remarried in the 1260's; see Pachymeres I, 243,7-8; Polemis, Doukai, 95. For Eirene's marriage to Constantine Tikh see above 152,19-21.

The lack of any general statement about the Emperor is conspicuous. Of all the sources for the period Akropolites alone makes no comment whatsoever on the Emperor's reign. See Skoutariotes (Additamenta, 296-298) and Pachymeres (I, 32,6-39,11) both of whom knew Theodore. Their encomia would not appear to be mere τοῦτο. Pachymeres especially shows an intimate knowledge of the man's ways. Akropolites' bitterness went very deep; see 139,14-22.

LXXV. 154,10 ff. Akropolites, who was not present for the events he describes here, gives a very summary and entirely pro-Michael Palaiologos account of the situation after Theodore's death. Skoutariotes was in Asia Minor at the time (see note on 153,4 ff.) but unfortunately reverts to following Akropolites' account. Pachymeres gives the fullest narrative of events. He was a relation of one of the people involved (see I,59,12-14). Another account, that of the Arab historian Bar Hebraeus (trans. Budge, 428) had an anti-Mouzalon source. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 87-88, for a discussion of the sources.

154,13-20. The will and oaths taken on it are mentioned by Pachymeres (I,39,12), Gregoras (I,62,19;63,10) and Arsenios (PG CXL, 949 C). Two oaths were sworn, one before and one after Theodore's death: Arsenios, PG CXX, 949 C; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 537,10-17. According to Arsenios, everyone took the oaths, senate, army, people and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. For those not present protagmata were sent out announcing the Emperor's death, the proclamation of the new Emperor, and asking for oaths to be sworn on behalf of the new Emperor; see Pachymeres, I, 53,17-54,1.

Akropolites seems to believe that Theodore was more concerned for Mouzalon's well-being than his own son's. In this he discredits Theodore more than Mouzalon. However there were many who suspected Mouzalon of having bewitched the Emperor and brought about his death: Pachymeres I, 32,11-15; 54,10-15.

154,20-24. Akropolites is wrong about the date. The events he is about to describe took place nine days after the Emperor's death, on the occasion of a memorial service held for the late Emperor Theodore at Sosandra where he was buried; see Pachymeres I, 55,11-12; Gregoras, I, 65,15-16. The presence of Latin mercenaries is stressed by Pachymeres (I,55,21-56,1).

154,24-26. The catalogue of distinguished men consists of families of old ancestry (with the exception of Philes) whose members held important positions at Nicaea (τῆς πρώτης ... τῆς πόλεως) (11.25-26), as they had earlier in Constantinople; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 68-71. Pachymeres explains that Theodore's behaviour towards these men was based on his idea that their high birth was sufficient. They did not need to be raised to positions in the court as well. Most of the men who fared badly under Theodore were restored under Michael VIII.

154,26-155,2. Alexios Strategopoulos and Constantine Tornikes had lost favour with the Emperor Theodore as a result of their performance in the Bulgarian campaign (1255-1256); see above 114,2-19 for their careers. According to Pachymeres (I,64,19-65,4), Alexios' son, Constantine, had been blinded by Theodore II because he treated the Emperor with disdain.

155,2-3. Theodore Philes replaced Andronikos Palaiologos as viceroy in Thessalonike in 1247 (84,15). Theodore's hatred for the man is evident in a letter he addressed to Akropolites during his father's reign: Epistulae, ed. Festa, 105,23-24.

155,3-6. George Zagarommates is known from several documents which date to the Emperor John's reign: 1249: protovestiarites, sebastos (IM,VI, 191; Dölger, Regesten, no. 1797). See Laurent ('Ελληνικά 6 (1933), no. 551) for Zagarommates' seal as protovestiarites. For his property near Smyrna see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 177-178. His title of parakoimomenos is known only from this passage. Before 1204 the title was usually bestowed upon eunuchs and entailed the charge of protecting the Emperor during the night; see Guillard, Recherches I, 202-211.

155,6-7. Alexios Raoul, the Emperor John's protovestiarios (92,17-18), married to a niece of the Emperor, had been deprived of his title by Theodore who bestowed it on George Mouzalon; see Pachymeres I,23,18-20. For

his sons, John, Manuel, Isaac and another whose name is not known, see Fassoulakes, The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(1)es, 17-23.

155,7-9. Nikephoros Alyates was a grammatikos under the Emperor John; see above 91,3-4. As ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου he may have had duties connected with the chancery; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 161-162. Skoutariotes adds that the Emperor Theodore confiscated Alyates' property (ed. Sathas, 537,3-4).

155,16-19. Theodore Mouzalon had grown up at the court of the Emperor John, along with his brothers George and Andronikos; see Pachymeres, I, 24,4-5. Theodore is the first known protokynegos; he was in charge of the imperial game preserve; see Guillard, Recherches, I, 601-603; Pachymeres I, 24,4-5; Gregoras I, 66,2.

Akropolites uses the third person plural of the imperfective, κατωνόμαζον , ἐκάλουν to make a point that he had no part in, and wanted nothing to do with, the titles which these men held. Akropolites himself did not recognise them.

155,19-156,8. Pachymeres attributes the murder of the brothers to the Latin mercenaries in the army who were under Michael Palaiologos' control as megas konostablos . According to him, a Κάρουλος or Charles, killed George Mouzalon who was hiding under the altar table in the sanctuary; see Pachymeres I, 54-55, 60-61; 284,19-21. Bar Hebraeus also places the responsibility in the hands of 'Michael and the other nobles' who 'commanded the Franks... to go up to the monastery and to hack Mouzalon in pieces with their swords' (trans. Budge, 428). Akropolites does not here single out anyone as the murderer of the Mouzalon brothers but see below 159,20-23 where he claims that Karyanites, one of Theodore's 'magnates' was responsible.

156,8-18. Akropolites used this quotation from Homer (Il. 24.261) above when reporting the promotion of Theodore's favourites. An account of the scene by Theodore's tomb is not to be found in Pachymeres or in any of the other sources, including Skoutariotes.

LXXVI. 156,19-157,4. This is an account of the assembly which met after the death of the Mouzalons to decide on a new guardian for the young John IV. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 85-86, for the composition of the assembly.

157,11-14. See above 137,9-138,18 for the last encounter of Turks and Mongols in 1256 which ended in a serious defeat for the Turks.

157,15-19. The Despot Michael II had taken Albanon, Frilep and Ochrid in 1257; see LXVIII, LXX, LXXII.

157,19-23. Akropolites has not said anything of this wedding alliance before, as he claims he has. Michael II had three daughters, Helen, Anna, and another whose name is not known: Pachymeres II, 319,16-17; Polemis, Doukai, 94. Helen's marriage to Manfred, King of Sicily, and son of Frederick II, took place in 1259 although arrangements for the marriage seem to date to 1258. See M. Dendias, 'Ἐλένη Ἀγγελίνα Δούκαινα βασίλισσα Σικελίας καὶ Νεοπόλεως, Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά 1 (1926), 219-294; Nicol, Despotate, 183, note 6 and Ceanakoplos, 'The Battle of Pelagonia', 103-105, for a discussion of the date of their marriage.

157,23-158,1. Anna's marriage to William of Villehardouin, prince of Achaia, took place in 1258; see Pachymeres I, 83,3; Gregoras I, 71,22; Nicol, Despotate, 172-173. For William see above on 86,24-87,4.

158,1-4. The Latins in Constantinople have played a relatively minor role in Akropolites' narrative. Nicaean-Epirote and Bulgarian relations were the major concerns of the Emperors John and Theodore. However Michael Palaiologos claims to have fought the Latins from the Asiatic shore opposite Constantinople, during the reign of the Emperor John; see note on 134,7-14. This is the only reference to hostilities with the Latins in the 1250's. For Baldwin II, son of Peter of Courtenay, see above 57, 20 ff.

158,5-21. Akropolites, in an attempt to show that Michael Palaiologos' popularity was wide-reaching and the fame of his competence well-known, presents the selection-process as a vote among the people, especially the mercenary contingents in the army. Pachymeres on the other hand, who was closer to the proceedings than Akropolites, says that the officials deliberated among themselves for several days before agreeing on Michael. He gives three reasons for their choice : Michael's military skills, nobility of birth, and relation to the ruling family, both by birth and marriage (I,66,5-20). At this time Michael was named megas doux and guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of the young Emperor John IV.

158,22-159,4. Both by Pachymeres' account and the Patriarch Arsenios' admission, the decision to choose Palaiologos had already been taken when the Patriarch arrived at Nymphaion: Pachymeres I, 67,9-11; 13-16; 72,12 ff.; PG, CXL, 949 C: λεῖποντός μου. The Patriarch's role appears to have been one of confirmation. His approval was considered a means of assuring more security to the procedure : Pachymeres I, 67,9-11. Pachymeres also states that a synodal tome was issued which absolved Michael of any guilt in transgressing the oaths he had sworn to the Emperor John Batatzes or to John IV (I,95,4-16).

LXXVII. 159,6-7. Akropolites gives no idea of the length of time which elapsed between the stages of Michael's rise to imperial power. The brevity of his account may be due to the fact that he was not in Asia Minor when these events took place. But it is more likely that he did not wish to draw attention to the way in which Michael managed to rise from megas konostablos (rank 11: Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 137,7) to Emperor in a few months (August 1258-January, 1259), displacing the rightful heir, Pachymeres, however, was an eyewitness (I,71,19; 72,7) and presents a full, detailed account of the stages in Michael's career.

159,8-9. The 'Short Chronicle of 1352' is the only source for the date of Michael's elevation to the despotic rank: 13 November 1258; see Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 5, p. 75; Loenertz's commentary in OCP 29 (1963), 341. The senate and members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy had a hand in this promotion; see Pachymeres I, 79,11-13; Arsenios, PG, CXL, 949D. The actual ceremonial bestowal of the despotic rank depended on the reigning Emperor who in this case was the young John IV, proclaimed but not crowned Emperor. The Patriarch assisted him in the ceremony: Pachymeres I, 79,14-16; Gregoras, I, 71,8-9. The bestowal of the title on Michael was a significant departure from the norm as established in Constantinople and followed in Nicaea; see above on 9,1-2; 67,14-25.

Pseudo-Kodinos describes the actual ceremony as well as the headpiece which the Emperor places on the new Despot's head, a sternatogvrrion. It is said to have four small arches, in the front, the back and on the sides (ed. Verpeaux, 275,2-24). This description does not conjure up an image of a ταῦλα or fillet, the word Akropolites uses to describe the despotic headpiece. However, whenever possible Akropolites chooses to use an archaizing word or expression rather than a current term and this could be the case in this instance as well. See Hendy and Bendall for a coin showing the ceremonial crowning of a Despot by an Emperor: Revue Numismatique 12-13 (1970-1971), 143-148, esp. 147, note 1.

159,9-12. The time which elapsed between Michael's proclamation as Despot and as Emperor could have been anywhere from 18 to 49 days; see on 159, 13-15. Michael Palaiologos claims that God persuaded him to accept the charge; Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 453-455. Michael persuaded his supporters, drawn from the army and the church, with gifts: Pachymeres, I, 71,7-11; 79,16-20,3.

159,13-15. Michael was proclaimed Emperor on 1 January 1259, probably at Magnesia (Manisa); see Pachymeres (I,96,15-16) whose date differs from Gregoras' (1 December 1258; I,78,1-12) but should be preferred. Wirth, relying on a later oration by Manuel Holobolos and the 'Short Chronicle of 1352', claims that the ceremony took place at the palace in Nymphaion; see JOBG 10 (1961), 86-87. However he overlooks the testimony of Blemmydes, an eyewitness who, along with Pachymeres (I,96,15-98,17) claims that Magnesia was the site; see Curriculum vitae, 89,19-25. Although the palace was at Nymphaion, Magnesia was also considered an imperial residence; see Andreeva, Ocherki, 23-24; Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 44-45. The accounts of Blemmydes and Pachymeres should be trusted.

For the ceremony of the elevation on the shield, which was lifted by men of the church as well as the magnates see above on 105, 20-21; Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 256,1-14.

159,15-18. It is not known how much time elapsed between the proclamation (1 January 1259) and the coronation but it would have had to have been long enough for Michael to go to Philadelphia from Magnesia and back again; see Pachymeres I, 99,2-100,4; Arsenios, PG, CXL 949D;: καὶ ὁ οὗ πολὺς παρελθὼν . Theodore II had also gone to Philadelphia after his proclamation for the same reason as Michael Palaiologos, to send an embassy to the Sultan and make a display of the return to the status quo with a new Emperor on the throne; see above 105,18-106,3.

The Patriarch Arsenios agreed to crown Michael with the stipulation that John IV should be crowned first: Arsenios, PG CXL 949D; Gregoras I, 79,5-8. However, at the last minute Michael managed to bring pressure to bear so that he and his wife were crowned first while John was not given an imperial crown but merely a κεκρυφάτω ἡμίτυμβω , a close-fitting cap decorated with precious stones: Pachymeres, I,103,20-104,3. Note Akropolites' lack of reference to John.

159,19-160,3. Above, in his account of the killing of the Mouzalon brothers, Akropolites did not name any murderer; see note on 155,19-156,8. Pachymeres, however, put the blame on a certain Charles, a Latin mercenary. It may be that Akropolites used Karyanites as a scapegoat for the crime, so as to divert suspicion from Michael Palaiologos who, as megas konostablos, was in charge of the Latin mercenaries at the time of the murder. Pachymeres does not say that Karyanites fled to the Turks, but only οἱ...ἀμφὶ τὸν Καρυανίτην (I,63,7-11). Whether they were his relatives, his retainers, or men under his charge is not known. For the Karyanites see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 117, 161.

160,4-10. For John Angelos, first megas primmikeros, then protostrator, see above note on 124, 9-10. He is not to be confused with an Angelos, brother of Michael Palaiologos' mother-in-law and megas primmikeros: Pachymeres I, 72,3-4.

160,16-20. Michael conferred the title of megas domestikos on his brother John when he was Despot. Since, as Despot, he did not have the right to grant such a title, Pachymeres says that he made it look as if the young John IV conferred the title (I, 81,1-3). Michael also arranged from John's marriage to Constantine Tornikes' daughter (Pachymeres I, 97,9-11) and raised him to sebastokrator, second in the hierarchy of titles after Despot. For the insignia of a sebastokrator see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 147,9-148,21.

Little is known about John Komnenos Palaiologos but the letter (1256) of Niketas Karantenos to the abbot of St. John's, Patmos, supplies the information that John was sent to Rhodes in 1256. It is not clear, however, whether he was sent on military or administrative business or in exile; see H. Nystazopoulou, 'Γράμμα', 289,305. Papadopoulos, Versuch, 4-5.

160,21-24. Both the Strategopouloi and the Raoul family had suffered under Theodore II Laskaris; see above 154,24-155,7. For John Raoul see Fassoulakes, The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(1)es, 18-19.

Strategopoulos does not seem to have held a title before that of megas domestikos which Michael VIII conferred on him (161,3-4), although he was sent on various military campaigns both under John III and Theodore II.

161,4-8. Constantine Palaiologos' predecessor at Nicaea with the honorary title of Caesar was a Romanos (Pachymeres I, 222,3-5). The source of Leo Gabalas' title of Caesar is open to question; see note on 45,20-21. For the title see Guiland, Recherches II, 25-33.

LXXVIII. 161,9-24. Michael Palaiologos courted all those who had grievances against Theodore II. Pachymeres describes the form his generosity took: offices and pronoiai to members of the senate, chrysobulls to members of the army granting life-long pronoiai, cancellation of debts and amnesty for the people: I, 97,7-98,13. The source of Michael's money was, according to Pachymeres, the public treasury (I, 98,10-11). Compare Akropolites' statement here to the one he makes on Theodore II's accession (above, 104,23-105,17).

161,25-162,3. This embassy is not mentioned by any other source (with the exception of Skoutariotes), either Greek or Latin. It has elements of the fanciful in it and it seems to have as its purpose the display of Michael's wit as well as a demonstration of the pitifully weak position of the Latins in Constantinople.

162,4-13. Michael's father, Andronikos Palaiologos, died in Thessalonike in 1247, shortly after his appointment there; see note on 84,7-9.

A funeral oration by Iakobos, Archbishop of Ochrid, says that he was buried in Thessalonike and then transported to Asia Minor where he was reburied; see note on 84, 12-14. Michael's statement to the Latins is made for effect and is not concerned with the fine points

of the truth.

162,16-23. Michael had a military command at Serres and Melnik from 1246; see note on 84,1-5.

162,26. The theme of Boleron extended from the Nestos river to the Hebros; see above 42,25; Kyriakides, Μελέται IV, 291-359.

163,7-9. Michael is referring to the time he held a military command in Bithynia and the Optimates region, from 1253/4 until his flight to the Turks in 1256; see note on 134,7-14. For Tarsia, the district bordering on the Optimates theme see Ramsay, Historical Geography, 191.

163,11. The kommerkion was both a customs tariff and a sales tax, levied at 10% until the fourteenth century. The word itself, however, has various meanings: trade, merchandise, the place where trade takes place; see H. Antoniadès -Bibicou, Recherche sur les Douanes à Byzance (Paris, 1963), 102-110, 114.

163,12. It is thought that the χρυσ(ο)ψητεῖον is related to, or identical with, the χρυσοχοεῖον, χρυσιοπλῦστα, χαράγη or mint, housed in the Great Palace in Constantinople: Choniates, CSHB 453,6-8; ed. van Dieten, 347,44-50; Nicholas Mesarites, Die Palastrevolution, ed. Heisenberg, 25-26. The εἴσοδος or revenue from the chryseosteion would be the money charged for presenting bullion to the mint to be melted down, refined and refashioned into coins or luxury objects. See N. Oikonomidès, Les Listes, 317.

LXXIX. 163, 18-164,10. The embassy to the Despot Michael II described here dates to after Michael Palaiologos' proclamation as Emperor in January 1259. This chronology can be inferred from the sequence of Akropolites' narrative; see also Nicol, 'The Date of the Battle of Pelagonia', 69. Pachymeres claims that Michael II had ambitions to take Constantinople and be crowned Emperor. This idea, as well as

his alliances with Manfred and William emboldened him: I, 81, 19-83, 3.

164, 15-21. Chabaron had been appointed governor at Albanon by the Emperor Theodore in 1256. Michael II had taken Albanon and Chabaron through the wiles of his sister-in-law, Maria Sphrantzaina; see above 140, 21-141, 6. George Akropolites had been in prison since 1257; see 150, 7-24. For his wife, Eudokia, and her relationship to Michael Palaiologos, see the Introduction, 17-18, 22 and notes 1 and 2.

164, 23. For the battle at Vodena in which Michael Palaiologos killed a son of Michael II, see above 147, 25-148, 19.

165, 4-10. Nikephoros Alyates had lost part of his tongue at the hands of Theodore II (above 155, 7-9; also 91, 3-4).

LXXX. 165, 14-166, 1. The events which follow lead up to the battle of Pelagonia in the summer of 1259. On the place see Geanakoplos, 'The Battle of Pelagonia', Appendix A; Nicol, 'The Date of the Battle of Pelagonia', 68-71. Michael Palaiologos had sent his brother John to Thrace and Macedonia when he was made Despot (November 1258) but apparently no action was taken until after Michael's assumption of imperial power in 1259. The offensive of the Nicaean troops dates to the spring of that year; see below 167, 23-24; Nicol, 'The Date of the Battle of Pelagonia', 68-69.

Kastoria, where Michael II was encamped, as well as Ochrid and Deabolis (Devol) which the Nicaean troops proceeded to conquer (below 167, 2-17) had been in Michael II's control until 1252/3 when all three places went over to the Emperor John: see 91, 6-11; 92, 21-22. They came under Michael II's control again in 1257: 140, 21-141, 6; 151, 3-11.

166, 1-4. Theodore Petraliphas was the brother of Theodora, Michael II's wife. He had gone over to the Emperor John's side in 1252 but obviously returned to Michael II, probably in 1257; see 90, 18-19; note on 165, 14-166, 1

166,5-7. Old Epiros extended from the Ambracian Gulf north to the Akrokeranian promontary; New Epiros from that point to Dyrrachion; see note on 14,1-4 . Akropolites' statement that the Pyrrenaia mountains separate Old and New Epiros from the part of Greece to the east of Epiros would seem to describe the Pindos mountains. In this passage men are fleeing from Kastoria across the mountains; below (171,13-14), men at Neopatras cross the Pyrrenaia to get to Arta and Ioannina. Therefore, it seems that Akropolites gives the name Pyrrenaia to the whole of the Pindos. In using this name Akropolites may be adopting archaic usage which does not seem to have survived in any other source; see Meliarakes, 'Ιστορία, 526, note 1.

Akropolites' expression, 'our Hellenic land' would seem to be a reference to territory under Nicaean control, to the east of the Pindos mountains, in Thessaly and Macedonia. The Nicaeans had not, up to this time, succeeded in taking any of the Epirot possessions of the Komneno-Doukai. 'Hellene' came to be used by the Nicaeans to distinguish themselves from the Latins, since both Greeks and Latins were entitled to the name 'Romans'; see Akropolites' 'Tract on the Procession of the Holy Spirit' where he makes this point: Opera II, 64,17-19. The Komneno-Doukai and their subjects in Epiros, beyond the Pyrrenaia, were not considered 'Romans', much less 'Hellenes'. On this see above, 63-65; also Angold, 'Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire', Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 1 (1975), 49-70, esp. 64 .

166,11-15. The stages of Constantine Kabasillas' career are known from Demetrios Chomatenos' correspondence with him on questions of canon law. However, the chronology of his career has not yet been fixed with accuracy. He was Bishop of Tiberioupolis (Stroumitza), Metropolitan of Dyrrachion, and finally, Archbishop of Ochrid; see Chomatenos, ed. Pitra, 63-66, 617-682; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, EZ 8 (1899), 76.

The date of Constantine's appointment to Ochrid is problematic, as is the history of the archbishopric after Chomatenos' death (c.1235).

Nikephoros Blemmydes was offered the position of Archbishop of Ochrid when he visited Thessaly in about 1238-1239, but he refused it; see Curriculum vitae, 36,28-37,4; Heisenberg, 'Prolegomena', xviii. It would appear that Iakobos, a monk in the monastery of St. Meletios, south of Tnebes, during the early years of Theodore Komnenos' rule in Epiros, directly succeeded Chomatenos; see note on 25,8-10. Pachymeres (I,82,9; 137,9-10) says that he crowned Theodore Komnenos Emperor, a confusion with Chomatenos which would not be plausible if Iakobos were not Chomatenos' successor at Ochrid. 1246-1247 is the earliest date which can be ascribed with certainty to Iakobos as Archbishop. In a work written on the death of Andronikos Palaiologos (1247), Iakobos refers to Andronikos' hospitality to him in Thessalonike when he fled from τὴν λαχοῦσαν, his bishopric; see Mercati, Collectanea Byzantina I, 73,5-7. It would seem, therefore, that Iakobos was Archbishop from at least 1246, since that is the year of Andronikos' appointment to Thessalonike. He was probably still Archbishop in 1249. The inscription in a manuscript he donated to a monastery in Ochrid in that year calls him 'Archbishop of Bulgaria'; Dujčev, Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo I, 363.

Kabasilas may have followed Iakobos in this position but the date of his appointment is open to question. Nicol's date of 1246 must be revised in view of Iakobos' incumbency; see Despotate, index:Kabasilas. Gelzer (Der Patriarchat von Achrida, 12) attributes a document of 1250 which carries the attribution ἀνώνυμον ἔγγραφοι τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀχριδῶν to the time of Kabasilas' incumbency; see Pappadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα I, 474-476. However, this document has since been ascribed to the Patriarchate at Nicaea by Laurent (Regestes, no. 1314, pp. 120-121). Therefore, there is no secure date for Kabasilas as Archbishop at Ochrid apart from Akropolites' reference to the Emperor Theodore's suspicion of him and his subsequent confinement. According to Skoutariotes, Kabasilas was sent to Asia Minor where the Emperor Theodore kept an eye on

him (ed. Sathas, 542, 26-28). Therefore, it is clear that Kabasilas was Archbishop during Theodore II's reign, although the terminus post quem for his appointment cannot be ascertained. For portraits of Kabasilas as Archbishop in churches in Ochrid see R. Ljubinković, 'Les influences de la vie politique contemporaine sur la decoration des églises d'Ochrid', Actes du XII Congrès international byzantine III (1964), 224.

166,16-20. Kabasilas' brothers, John and Theodore, are not known from any other source although other members of the family are. A Demetrios Kabasilas, deacon of the Metropolis of Dyrrachion, is mentioned in a document of 1246: A. Pappadopoulos-Kerameus, BZ 14 (1905), 568-569, 571. Also, a George Kabasilas μεγάλος οἰκονόμος was a member of an ecclesiastical court in Thessalonike in 1295; see Dölger, Schatzkammern, no. 59/60, p. 163.

167,8. Charitonides has suggested an emendation to the text: ἐβεβούλευτο instead of ἐβεβούλητο; see 'Σύμμικτα ἑρμηνεύματα', 85-87. This reading should probably be accepted. See 168,2; 169,25, for other uses of the same verb.

167,17-20. Prespa, Pelagonia (Bitola), Soskos and Molyskos, all to the east of Ochrid and Deabolis, are referred to in the sources not only as towns but also as homonymous regions (provincia, χώρα); see Carile, 'Partitio', 221; Zakythinos, EEBS 17 (1941), 225, 233. Molyskos, mentioned in the Partitio and the chrysobull of Alexios III for the Venetians (1198), is said to be near Ostrovos and Vodená; see Zakythinos, EEBS, 17 (1941), 234. For Soskos, also near Ostrovos, see Skylitzes (CSHB II, 462, 23; ed. Thurn, 353, 59-60).

167,20-24. Akropolites refers to his fellow-Greeks, inhabitants of Epiros and Thessaly under the political control of the Kommeno-Doukai, as the 'western race' (91,15) and 'inhabitants of the west' (1.21).

They are practically foreigners (non-Romans) to his mind. For this use of *δυτικοί* see also Pachymeres (I,20,11-15); A. Failler, 'Signification du terme 'dytikoi' dans l'histoire de Pachymère', Resumés des Communications, Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Athens, 1976.

LXXXI. 168,4-9. Pachymeres (I,83,4-5) says that 3,000 men were sent by Manfred but this figure seems to be greatly exaggerated. See Geanakoplos, 'The Battle of Pelagonia', 122 and notes 105,108.

168,10-16. William led his contingent of troops in person: *ὁ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ* see also Pachymeres I, 83,5-6; Michael Palaiologos, *typikon*, ed. Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 455. For the background to Michael's alliance with his sons-in-law see Geanakoplos' analysis in 'The Battle of Pelagonia', 101-118. Both Gregoras (I,72,2-6) and Michael Palaiologos (Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 455) point out the selfish, contriving aspect of the help which these allies provided Michael II.

168,15-16. The Lakones were inhabitants of the south-east area of the Peloponnese called Lakonia: Pachymeres I, 309,16; Ahrweiler, 'Les termes *Τοδωνες-Τοαων(α)*, et leur évolution sémantique', REB 21 (1963), 243-249. Earlier editors of Akropolites' text gave the reading *Λατίνων* (see critical apparatus, p. 168, note 16). However, in view of what Akropolites says of William's Greek fighting force (168,14-15), *Λαχώνων* is a perfectly acceptable reading.

169,3-5. According to most accounts, the Nicaean army was composed of Turkish and Cuman mercenaries; see Manuel Holobolos' oration to Michael Palaiologos, ed. Treu, 40,9; Greek chronicle of the Morea, ed. P. Kalonaros, 206,17. Michael Palaiologos also mentions Bulgarians (Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 457.

169,7. The name Βορέλλα Λόγγος, literally 'Boril's Wood', was originally the name of an individual's property which came to be a place name. See Vasmer, Die Slaven, 40,77,93,106, for place names containing the Slavic word logb (lŭg). The exact location of Borilla Longos and, therefore, of the battle is not known although it is thought to have been in the vicinity of Pelagonia or Kastoria; see Geanakoplos, 'The Battle of Pelagonia', Appendix A; Nicol, Despotate, 185, note 22. Skylitzes refers to a fortress called Λόγγος near Kastoria (CSHB, 465,8; ed. Thurn, 355,19). Since William of Achaia is said to have escaped from the battle to Kastoria (below 170,10-11), the site of the battle may have been near Kastoria rather than Pelagonia.

169,20-21. Stanos is mentioned in the Partitio in connection with Prilep and Pelagonia; see Carile, 'Partitio', 221, 105; Zakythinos, EEBS 21 (1951), 209.

169,23-170,5. Of all the accounts of the battle, Akropolites' is the least complicated with respect to the reasons for the enemy's flight. He presents the event as the outcome of the enemy's fear of the Nicaean forces. Since the sources give the impression that the Nicaean army greatly outnumbered the others, Akropolites' reason for Nicaean victory seems plausible; see Angold, Byzantine Government, 191, note 71 and Geanakoplos, 'The Battle of Pelagonia', 125, note 120, for figures. See also the accounts of Gregoras (I, 74,1-75,6) and Pachymeres (I, 84, 10-86,3) for different accounts.

170,5-9. For John Doukas, known as John the Bastard, see Polemis, Douka1, 97. According to Pachymeres, John defected to the Nicaean side because of an argument between him and William of Achaia (I, 84, 2-8 5,11); see also Sanudo (ed. Hopf, 107).

By 'Roman army' (1.5) Akropolites means the Greeks fighting with

the Komneno-Doukai, as opposed to their Latin allies. In this case Akropolites generously applies the name 'Roman' to the subjects of the Komneno-Doukai because they defected to the Nicaean side; see note on 167,20-24.

170,15-16. Anselm of Toucy was related to William of Achaia through his sister who was married to the prince; see the Chronicle of the Morea, ed. Kalonaros, 233,51: *φίλε καὶ συγγενὴ μου*. Anselm was one quarter Greek through his grandfather, Theodore Branas, and he himself was said to have known Greek: Villehardouin, 403, p. 215, note 3; Chronicle of the Morea, ed. Kalonaros, 218,30-35, 40.

Geoffrey, lord or baron of Karitana, is probably Geoffrey of Brieres, nephew of William of Achaia; see the Chronicle of the Morea, ed. Kalonaros, 233,53, 240,26. Karitana or Karitaina was the main fortress in the mountainous region of the Peloponnesos called Skorta, located on either side of the middle course of the Alpheos river; see A. Bon, La Morée Franque I, 105-106.

170,24-171,1. Akropolites' use of *Τούρκοι* here is inconsistent with his usual practice of using *Πέρσαι* to refer to the Seljuk Turks. See also above 148,10 for another example.

The Rimpsas of this passage is probably the same man mentioned by Pachymeres (I,329,2) and a document of 1286 (MM,IV,276). In the latter, Rimpsas is qualified as pansebastos, praitor tou demou. The holder of this title, Justinianic in creation, originally had the function of keeping peace in the capital. By the thirteenth century the title was merely honorific; see Guillard, 'Preteur du peuple', Revue des études sud-est européennes 7 (1969), 81-82.

171,2-7. In his oration to Michael Palaiologos (1265-1266), Manuel Holobolos makes special mention of captives who were thirty in number; see Treu, 42-43. See also Michael Palaiologos' comments in his tyoukon (Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 455-457).

IXXXII. 171,8-10. Neopatrás (modern Hypatē) was taken from the Latins by Theodore Komnenos in 1218 and remained under the authority of the Komneno-Doukai from that time; see Nicol, Despotate, 35, 57. Arta and Ioannina were two of the most important towns under the control of Michael I Komnenos Doukas; see above 14,4; Nicol, Despotate, 16-17. None of these towns had been challenged by Nicaean forces before this time.

171,17. George Akropolites was taken captive after Michael II's capture of Prilep in 1257; he was apparently imprisoned at Arta; see above 150,7-24. The fortress at Arta, parts of which still stand, is thought to have been built by Michael II; see A. Orlandos, 'Τὸ Κάστρον τῆς Ἀρτῆς', Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημεῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος 2 (1936), 151-160.

171,27-172,5. In his typikon for the monastery of St. Demetrios, Michael Palaiologos mentions 'his' plundering of Lebadia; see Grégoire, B 29-30 (1959-1960), 455. Lebadia and Thebes had been awarded to Otto de la Roche after the Latin conquest of Constantinople and formed part of the 'Duchy of Athens'; see W. Miller, Essays on the Latin Orient (Cambridge, 1921), 63-64; A. Bon, 'Forteresses Médiévales de la Grèce Centrale', Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 61 (1937), 187-191. This was the farthest south Nicaean forces penetrated.

172,5-11. Akropolites is the only source for Michael II's actions at this time. The Ionian island of Leukas had probably been under the control of the Komneno-Doukai from the time of Michael I. There was a Greek bishop on the island by 1212; see Nicol, Despotate, 19,23, note 27. Kephallenia (Cephalonia) was in the hands of Maio Orsini who was married to Theodore Komnenos' sister. He had close ties with the Komneno-Doukai rulers of Epiros although he was politically independent of them; see Nicol, Despotate, 10,17,19, 107; N. Bees, 'Ein politisches Treubekenntnis', Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 3 (1922), 165-176.

By the 'islands of Kephallenia' (τὰς τῶν Κεφαλήνων) Akropolites probably means Ithake, to the east of Kephallenia, and Zante (Zakynthos), to the south. Zante, at least, was under the control of Orsini, along with Kephallenia; see Bees, Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 3 (1922), 166.

172,16. Bouditza (Vonitza), situated on the Ambracian Gulf, was part of the Kommeno-Doukas territories from the time of Michael I; see Nicol, Despotate, 19,40,102,note 44. The name appears as Bonditza in other texts; see Pappadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Συνοδικὰ γράμματα Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαυκού', Βυζαντινὰ 1 (1909), 26; Skoutariotes, ed. Sathas, 546,3; critical apparatus, Heisenberg's text of Akropolites, p. 172. Therefore, the reading Βονδίτζης should perhaps be adopted. For the Slavic origin of the name vodiča, meaning 'hook' (ἄγκιστρον), see H. Grégoire, 'Deux Etymologies', B 21 (1952), 265-267; Apokaukos, ed. Vasilievsky, 249.

173,1-18. For these promotions see also Pachymeres (I,103,3-16).

Constantine Tornikes was not mentioned as having been sent to the west against Michael II (above 160,17-22) but this passage implies his presence there. Tornikes' daughter was married to John Palaiologos when he was still megas domestikos, probably in 1258, before he left for the west; see Pachymeres I, 97,9-11; Schmalzbauer, JUBG 18 (1969), 118. For the sebastokrator's slippers see the description in Pseudo-Kodinos (ed. Verpeaux, 148,3-6).

LXXXIII. 173,19-174,3. The attempt to take Constantinople described here dates to 1260. This must be the expedition which George of Cyprus, later Patriarch Gregory, refers to in his autobiography; see Lameere, 183,2-6.

The identity of Ἀσέλ, a cousin of Michael Palaiologos, has been a subject of debate. Is he Anselm of Cahieu, husband of a daughter of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (above 41,5-10; 85,9-11) or Anselm of Toucy, a relation of William, Prince of Achaia, who

was taken prisoner at the battle of Pelagonia (above 170,15-18)? Both men fit the description of the man who made promises to Michael. Skoutariotes does not supply any additional information on this matter, while Ephraim identifies the man as Anselm of Cahieu (9453). See Geanakoplos ('The Battle of Pelagonia', 137-141) who gives a discussion of the problem and chooses Anselm of Toucy .

174,17. The Emperor encamped at Galata, the quarter of Constantinople across the Golden Horn, also called Pera (= beyond [the Golden Horn]). The tower which stood on the waterfront at the south-easternmost tip of the promontary, is said to have been built in the sixth century. The present Galata Kulesi was built in 1349 and restored several times. See R. Janin, Constantinople Byzantine (Paris, 1964), 251-253; 457-458; A.M. Schneider, Is. Nomidis, Galata, Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan (Istanbul, 1944), 1-6.

175,2-4. Akropolites' account of this episode differs considerably from those of Pachymeres (I, 122,1-124,12) and Gregoras (I,80,20-81,14) who present the expedition as a serious attempt on the Emperor's part. In contrast to Akropolites' claim that the Emperor took only a small army with him (174,1-3), Pachymeres and Gregoras stress the large size of the army, 'larger', says Pachymeres 'than was necessary for taking such a fortress.' Anselm is not mentioned in their accounts. In addition, Pachymeres states that the outlying areas of the city were taken before Galata was attacked (I,110-111; 119). These accounts therefore describe a serious campaign. The importance of the attempt on the city is likewise underlined by Skoutariotes, and Holobollos, in an oration for Michael Palaiologos (1265-1266), who say that the attack on Galata lasted several months -- from the winter until the spring; see Sathas, 546,24-25; 547,12-13; Treu, 43,17-44,28. Therefore, it would seem that Akropolites deliberately played down the size of the Emperor's army and the importance of the attempt. He may have emphasized Anselm's duplicity in order to shift

the blame to another person. Akropolites' account of this campaign constitutes the most inaccurate passage in his entire narrative. He would have returned from Arta by the time of the expedition and therefore one cannot claim that he was far from the scene and unaware of the details of chronology; see 171,17-26; 173,19-20. It is perhaps not unfair to conclude that Akropolites' overriding loyalty to Michael VIII dictated his presentation of the siege of Galata.

175,10-16. It is not clear whether by archon of the city Akropolites is referring to Baldwin, the Latin Emperor at Constantinople, sarcastically alluding to the fact that he had power over Constantinople alone, or whether he had another person in mind, the baillie, for example.

175,16-19. Pachymeres (I,124,11-12) claims that the Emperor did not conclude any truce with the Latins, thus leaving the way open for another attack.

LXXXIV. 175,23-26. Nymphaion, the site of the imperial residence from the Emperor John's reign, is always mentioned by Akropolites as the winter residence of the Emperor; see note on 68,1. The presence of the palace at Nymphaion made it a centre for ceremonial occasions and displays; see 102,8-11; 105,21.

175,26-176,10. Constantine Tikh assumed power after Michael Asen's death in 1258. He was married to a daughter of the Emperor Theodore II (see LXXIII). Akropolites spent Christmas and Epiphany, the feast day of Christ's Baptism (6 January) at Trnovo, the capital of the Bulgarian Empire. See Pseudo-Kodinos' description of the ceremonial attached to Epiphany which along with Christmas, Palm Sunday and Easter were the major holy days in which the Emperor played a large role:(ed. Verpeaux, 220,8 ff., 189, 4 ff.). See note on 19,23-20,7, for the ceremonial at the Bulgarian court.

176,12. Easter Sunday: 24 April 1261.

176,13-21. Ahrweiler ('Smyrne', 72-73) locates Phelbia and Klyzomene in the plain of Nymphaion, watered by the Kryon river. From Akropolites' comment that Klyzomene was near cities and towns she infers that Klyzomene was itself a region, not a town. Tomaschek, 'Zur historischen Topographie', 29) identifies Klyzomene with Clazomenes but the latter is too far from Nymphaion for it to fit Akropolites' description.

176,22 ff. Akropolites discusses here, altogether, events which both precede and follow the siege at Galata (above 174,16 ff.). He presents a garbled account which obscures the issues. Pachymeres' version of the same events follows a more strictly chronological sequence.

177,1-5. Nikephoros, Bishop of Ephesos (1240/1-1260) was elected Patriarch in the spring of 1260, after Arsenios' retreat and refusal to return (see below 177,1-178,10). See Pachymeres, I, 113-117; Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 140. Only Akropolites and Blemmydes (Curriculum vitae, 38, 5-27) are complimentary about Nikephoros. He was strongly disliked both by the Emperor John, who objected to his appointment as Patriarch in the 1240's on the grounds that he could not stand the man (Pachymeres, I, 117,7-13) and by the Emperor Theodore II who complained of the man's avarice (Epistulae, ed. Festa, 15-16, 140-149, esp. 147,19 ff.). He did not fare better as Patriarch under Michael VIII. He was rejected by those who believed Arsenios to be the rightful Patriarch since he had never resigned. Seeking comfort and support he went to Selymbria in 1260 to be with the Emperor Michael who was preparing the siege of Galata at that time; see Pachymeres I, 119,7-18; Bar Hebraeus, trans. Budge, 428-429. He died shortly after his return to Nymphaion in 1261; see Pachymeres I, 126,12-17; Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 141-142.

177,5-178,10. Arsenios was a monk of modest education who lived on lake Apollonia before he became Patriarch in 1254; see note on 107,5-8. He left Nicaea and went to the monastery τοῦ Πασχασίου near the gulf of Nikomedia, outside the sphere of the Metropolis of Nicaea, a little over a year after he had crowned Michael Palaiologos Emperor; see Pachymeres I, 111-112; Laurent, 'La Chronologie', 140; Janin, Les Eglises et les Monastères, 118. Akropolites presents the ecclesiastical problem which arose as a consequence of Arsenios' retreat in terms of personality: Arsenios' malevolent attitude towards the Emperor Michael after his coronation was a manifestation of his 'terrible disposition' (178,8-10). By making Arsenios' actions appear to be without reason, he not only simplifies the matter but also shows Michael in good light as the 'forgiver' (below 180,10-13). Skoutariotes, however, in a passage departing from Akropolites' text, makes a point of addressing himself to this very charge -- that Arsenios' actions arose from his ill-will towards the Emperor. He claims that this accusation was based on ignorance of the facts. He vouches for the man's integrity and says that Arsenios withdrew because Michael would not listen to his advice (ed. Sathas, 548-549; Additamenta, 300-301). In writing this, Skoutariotes may have been addressing himself specifically to Akropolites' accusation, contained in a manuscript Skoutariotes was copying or, more probably, he was stating his rebuttal of a common accusation made of Arsenios in anti-Arsenite circles at the time.

The real reason for Arsenios' retreat was apparently not understood by contemporaries. Pachymeres says that Arsenios did not make his reason clear (I,111,17-19). Presumably this is what gave rise to the accusation that he retreated simply out of ill feelings towards the Emperor. Pachymeres himself did not believe the reason which Arsenios 'made up' (ἐπλάττετο) -- that 'he was despised' and 'he got nowhere when talking to the Emperor about his duties with regard to the church' (I,111,18-19). Pachymeres himself suggests that Michael's disregard for

John, Theodore II's son and rightful heir, may have been behind Arsenios' retreat; I, 111,12-15; Gregoras I, 80,13-14, also. Arsenios himself claims that Michael acted even more 'lawlessly' than before when he became Emperor, provoking him to leave the Patriarchate (PG CXL, 952-953). Although Arsenios does not spell out the nature of Michael's lawless behaviour, it follows from his previous statements that he is referring to Michael's disregard for the oaths he had sworn to protect and defend the rights of John IV. Of all the reasons offered for Arsenios' retreat, Akropolites' is the most true to the interests of Michael VIII.

178,10-17. The 'schismatics' as Pachymeres refers to them (I,118,7-12; 119,20-21), or men who refused to recognise the legitimacy of Nikephoros' election as Patriarch, were Andronikos, Metropolitan of Sardis, who had accompanied Arsenios on an embassy to the Pope during the Emperor John's reign (Skoutariotes, Addimenta, 290,11-13) and Manuel Disypatos, Metropolitan of Thessalonike, nicknamed Opsaras by his childhood friends because of his preference for eating fish. For this explanation of the origin of his nickname see G, critical apparatus, p. 178; also E.A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon (New York, 1957), 2nd edn.,II, 'ὀψαργας=ὀψάριον=ἀλιεύς. Manuel was Metropolitan at Thessalonike during Theodore II's reign, at least from 1256; see Pachymeres I, 28,10-11; Epistulae, ed. Festa, 235,1-2; Laurent, BZ 56 (1963), 295. According to Pachymeres Manuel was forced into exile because of his opposition to the Patriarch Nikephoros: I,120,1.

Andronikos was the more active of the two schismatics. The story of his taking of monastic vows is told by Pachymeres at length. Andronikos went to Selymbria where the Emperor was encamped, preparing to lay siege to Galata, and threatened to take monastic vows; when the Emperor paid no attention to him he went ahead with his plans and became the monk Athanasios in the church of the Saviour in Selymbria where Ioannikios, Metropolitan of Philadelphia was officiating; see Pachymeres,

I, 119, 18-120, 21; I. Sykoutres, 'Περὶ τὸ Σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν' Ἑλληνικά 2 (1929), 286. Andronikos returned to his Bishopric during Arsenios' second Patriarchate and remained a leader of the schismatic faction. For Sardis, which flourished during the Nicaean period for the first time since the seventh century, see Foss, Byzantine and Turkish Sardis, 87-88.

180,5-15. Tornikes' meeting with the Emperor at Klyzomene took place in the spring of 1261 (see 176,22-24). His reason for supporting Arsenios is not clear; see above 154,28 ff. and Pachymeres I, 76, 6-10, where he is mentioned as one of the chief supporters of Michael Palaiologos. However, see manuscript G (critical apparatus, p. 180) which provides the information that members of the senate were also in favour of Arsenios.

LXXXV. 181 ff. Akropolites' account of the taking of Constantinople does not differ substantially from that of any other source. Pachymeres' version is fuller and more detailed with less emphasis on πρόνοια θεοῦ and more on the actual manner in which the Nicaean forces penetrated the walls and held the city.

181,1-9. For the date of this expedition, see below 183,20-22. Pachymeres records Michael's dispatch of two armies, one led by his brother the Despot John, against the Despot Michael II Komnenos Doukas, and another by Strategopoulos against the Bulgarians. Michael II was on the offensive because of his recent loss of territory while the Tsar Constantine, a son-in-law of Theodore II, was protesting Michael Palaiologos' disregard for the rightful heir John IV; see Pachymeres I, 137,5-138,6.

Strategopoulos' troops consisted of Greeks and Cumans, numbering 800 men; see Pachymeres I, 137,20; Gregoras I, 83,10. The fact that his army was small supports the contention made by Akropolites and Pachymeres that Palaiologos had no intention of making a serious attempt on the city.

Pachymeres (I, 138, 6-10) agrees with Akropolites in saying that Strategopoulos only intended to frighten the Latins. See also the oration by Manuel Holobolus which refers to this 'side-trip' to Constantinople: τοῦς ἐν αὐτῇ δεῖμον τε φόβον ... αἰωνιῶς ὑποβαλεῖν (ed. Treu, 66, 30-32).

181, 10-22. The highest Venetian titled official in the Latin Empire of Constantinople was the Podestà. Akropolites gives the Greek transliteration of the Latin potestas; see also Pachymeres : ποτεστώτος ἐξουσιαστὴν εἶποι ἃν ἡ 'Ελληνων γλῶσσα (I, 162, 18). Marino Zeno was the first Podestà in Constantinople after the Latin conquest; Marco Gradenigo, the last (1259-1261). The title was not used by a governor of the Venetian colony in Constantinople after 1261. On the title and the Podestà in Constantinople (1205-1261) see R.L. Wolff, 'The Oath of the Venetian Podestà', 539-573, esp. 558, 564. Gradenigo was in Constantinople and did not arrive on a Venetian ship as Akropolites says.

Both Gregoras (I, 85, 4-8) and Pachymeres (I, 159, 1-3) mention the fleets' expedition to take Daphnusia, a city on an island of the same name located in the Black Sea, off the Bithynian coast; see Ramsay, Historical Geography, 182-183. The island was apparently a Nicaean possession; see Sanudo, Istoria, ed. Hopf, 115: contra la Terra de Greci. The absence of the Venetian fleet (30 ships: Pachymeres, I, 145, 12-13) from Constantinople at the time of Strategopoulos' presence near the city was not mere coincidence according to Bar Hebraeus (trans. Budge, 428-429). See Geanakoplos' discussion (Emperor Michael, 97-104, 102 note 30a) of Bar Hebraeus' sources.

182, 4-13. The men Akropolites describes as 'men who had come from the city' (ἐξωρμημένους) are the θεληματάρχοι or 'Volunteers' whom Pachymeres discusses at length, Greeks living inside and outside the city walls who changed their allegiance at will; hence their name.

Their good-will was cultivated by Greeks and Latins. The Nicaean forces had made contact with them during their campaign against Galata and the environs of Constantinople (Pachymeres I, 111,3-7). Pachymeres states that these men were instrumental in helping the Nicaean soldiers enter the city. However, in Akropolites' account they merely tell Strategopoulos about the opening in the wall (or ground). Pachymeres gives the $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\iota$ a more significant role. They let the troops into the city after having done away with the Latin sentinels (I, 141, 18-142, 12; see also Bar Hebraeus, 429). Akropolites' story gives more credit to the Nicaeans.

It should be noted that Akropolites' phrase $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\eta}\nu \tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\ldots$ $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\acute{\omicron} \tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (I, 8) is not clearly a description of an underground passage, as Geanakoplos interprets it (Emperor Michael, 107-108). The phrase could be taken to mean an opening in the wall; see now K. Setton, The Papacy and the Levant I, 93.

182,15-18. The gate through which the men entered was the Gate of the Fountain ($\kappa\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta \tau\eta\varsigma \Pi\upsilon\rho\eta\varsigma$), named after the monastery of the Fountain, also called the Gate of Selymbria, to the north of the Golden Gate: R. Janin, Constantinople Byzantine (Paris, 1964) 2nd edn., 275-276; Pachymeres I, 141, 15-16; 142, 8-12.

182,21-27. Baldwin, the fourth and last Latin Emperor at Constantinople, born and raised in that city (see above 44,10 ff.) fled from the Blachernai palace, at the end of the Golden Horn, which the Latin Emperors had inhabited, to the Great Palace at the other end of the city, on the Sea of Marmora (Pachymeres I, 144, 11-16). The Blachernai Palace, as well as the Boukoleon, had been assigned to the Latin Emperor by the treaty of March 1204: TT, I, 447; Villehardouin, 234, 249, 263.

182,23-183,4. According to Pachymeres (I, 145, 6-17), news of the Nicaean take-over reached the Latins at Daphnousia and made them return.

183,5-6. The church of the Archangel Michael, located at Anaplous, a village on the western, European bank of the Bosphoros, was originally built by Constantine the Great and restored by the Emperors Justinian I and Isaac II; see R. Janin, Les Eglises et les Monastères, 338-340; idem., 'Les sanctuaires byzantins de saint Michel', EO 33 (1934), 37-40. Skoutariotes includes this church in his list of buildings the Emperor John is said to have salvaged from destruction during the Latin occupation: ed. Sathas, 509,3-4.

183,7-12. The Venetians had been granted a living quarter in Constantinople by a chrysobull of Alexios I in 1082. It was located on the southern shore of the Golden Horn to the east of the Phanar district and was about 1/3 mile in length. Beyond this, to the east, were the quarters of the other Italian maritime states, the Amalfitans, Pisans and Genoese. On this see H.F. Brown, 'The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the close of the Twelfth Century', Journal of Hellenic Studies 40 (1920), 71-76; Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 246-250; III, III, 18, 19, 22. Pachymeres attributes the idea of setting fire to the homes of the Venetians and other foreigners in Constantinople to John Phylax, a Greek in the employ of the Emperor Baldwin: I, 146, 1-148, 4.

Akropolites' κάμπους (l.12), a transliteration of the Latin campos (fields, plains, places of assembly) is probably a reference to the ἔμβολα or districts in which the Italians had their living quarters and trade buildings; see Brown, JHS 40 (1920), 75. The word 'campo' is used in Venice to refer to city squares.

183,12-15. Thirty Venetian vessels and one Sicilian ship had gone to Daphnousia; Presumably these were used in the evacuation. See Geanakoplos for an estimate of the number of men involved (Emperor Michael, 113-114)

183,16-17. Baldwin left the city with the Podestà and the Latin Patriarch; see Dandolo, 311,5-10; Bar Hebraeus (trans. Budge, 429).

183,18-23. For the date, 25 July 1261, see Pachymeres I, 149, 1-5; 157,16-17; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, nos. 67, 8, 22. News reached Nicomedia on the 27th; see Pachymeres I, 149, 7-8.

LXXXVI. 183,24-25. Meteorion, known only from this passage, is thought to have been located in the Hermos river valley or just north of it; see Ahrweiler, 'Smyrne', 73; Ramsay, Historical Geography, 131.

183,26-184,21. Both Pachymeres and Holobolos relate in detail how Eirene, Michael's sister, conveyed the message to him, waking him from his sleep. Particularly striking are the similarities in the accounts of what Eirene said and how Michael replied; see I, 149-152; Treu, 68-69. For Eirene, whose daughter by marriage to John Kantakouzenos was married to George Mouzalon, see Papadopoulos, Versuch, 18-19; Pachymeres I, 128,15-129,2.

184,22-185,13. According to Pachymeres (I,152,6-19), it was the sight of Baldwin's crown and sword, as well as letters describing the taking of the city which convinced everyone; see below 185,15-186,4.

185,23-24. Both Kalamos and Achyraous lie on the road to Constantinople from the Hermos and Kaikos valleys. The village of Kalamos (Gelembe) was at the northernmost limit of the Neokastra theme (28,3-4) while Achyraous, north of Kalamos, was situated in the region of the Kiminas mountains (above 27,22-28,1); see Tomaschek, Topographie, 95-96.

Baldwin's crown, which only Akropolites specifies as 'Latin' in shape, was perhaps similar to the so-called crown of St. Louis in the Louvre, a circular band decorated with jewels from which trefoil-shaped ornaments project; see E.F. Twining, European Regalia (London, 1967), 142.

However, Baldwin's seals portray him in a kamelaukion type crown, a hemispherical-shaped headpiece with a gem on top; see Zacos, Veglery, Byzantine Lead Seals I, 102-104, esp. no. 114; plate 28.

186,7-17. According to Pachymeres, the Emperor conceived the idea for prayers of thanksgiving before he left Nymphaion to go to Constantinople (I, 157,9-11). If this is so, he would have commissioned Nikephoros Blemmydes before he departed for Constantinople. It is likely that this did in fact occur and that Blemmydes was reluctant, or even turned down the Emperor's proposal. Enough is known of Blemmydes' attitudes to make this plausible. Akropolites' use of ἐπινύξαι (1.14) is noteworthy because it implies that Michael would have had to press Blemmydes to write the prayers. This certainly confirms what is known about Blemmydes. The learned man never returned to Constantinople, his place of birth, but died in Asia Minor in his monastery at Emathia, near Ephesos; see Pachymeres I, 342,9-10.

186,18-28. In an oration addressed to the Emperor Michael, Manuel Holobolos refers to the prayers and their themes; see Treu, 73,27-31. Akropolites' statement that each prayer had its own theme is repeated by Holobolos who lists the subjects: 1) the power of Emperors 2) the orderliness of the people 3) their obedience of the law 4) the mildness of the seasons 5) the abundance of food 6) the banishment of everything that destroys: famine, earthquakes, fire, floods, winds 7) good upbringing of the young 8) a comfortable old age for the elderly 9) prudent management 10) increase in justice 11) revival of courage 12) flowering of wisdom. Parts of this list read like the litanies in the liturgy on behalf of the city and its inhabitants; see F.E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western (Oxford, 1896), 335,25 ff., 362-363. Holobolos in fact calls the prayers τὰ τῇ πόλει σωτήρια (ed. Treu, 73,30-31).

This enumeration of subjects should probably be taken at face value since Holobolos makes a point of listing them. However, Akropolites does specify thirteen prayers while the themes Holobolos lists appear to add up to twelve. His list contains prayers for the city, as he himself says. The thirteenth prayer could have been in honour of God or the Emperor. For Michael the number thirteen had a special significance. He styled himself the New Constantine, the 'refounder' of the city, and had a statue built outside the church of the Apostles depicting himself holding a model of the city in offering to the Archangel Michael. Therefore, the thirteenth prayer could have been a symbolic reference to the Thirteenth Apostle, the Emperor Constantine. For references to Michael as the 'new Constantine' see Pachymeres (I,300,13-16) who claims that the Patriarch Germanos (1265-1266) first gave Michael this epithet; H. and H. Buschausen, Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien (Vienna, 1976), 153-154.

A poem published by Mercati and tentatively identified by him as one of the prayers Akropolites wrote may be the 'missing' thirteenth prayer. The verses are dedicated to God and their theme, as indicated in the opening line, is 'the deed is Yours, not mine, O Logos of God'; see 'Giambi di Ringraziamento per la Riconquista di Constantinopoli (1261)', BZ 36 (1936), 289-290.

LXXXVIII. 186,29-187,2. Michael's entry is described by Pachymeres (I,159,16-162,4) and Holobolos (Treu, 72-77). All sources agree on the sequence of events and reveal the organisation and planning behind the ceremonial entry. Although Michael heard about the taking of the city at the end of July (see 183,20-23), he waited until 15 August, the feast day of the Virgin's Koimesis or Dormition to make his triumphal adventus into the city. For the date see 187,1-5; Kougeas, Byantina Metabyzantina 1 (1949), 62. Michael was careful to cultivate the favour and approval of the people and the clergy by paying honour to God or, by placing emphasis on things divine rather than human. Thus,

he chose a church feast day as his day of entry. The Virgin, the City's protectress, was the centre of attention; see N. Baynes, 'The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople', Byzantine Studies and Other Essays (London, 1955), 254 ff., for the Virgin's association with the city. The Virgin was not only the city's special patroness, she was Michael's as well. She appears on certain of his gold coins, minted sometime between his coronation in 1259 and the recovery of Constantinople. It is by the Virgin that Michael is crowned; see D. Iliescu, 'Le Dernier Hyperpère de l'Empire Byzantine de Nicée', BS 26 (1965), 94-97; Hendy, Coinage, 261 and pl. 36,1.

187,3-4. The Kosmidion monastery was the most famous monastery dedicated to the saints Cosmas and Damian in Constantinople: see Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 461-462; As there are no remains of the monastery, built under Theodosius II, its exact location is not known but it is thought to have been outside the city walls on the Golden Horn in the Eyllp district. The Blachernai district (Ayvansaray), at the northern end of the city, in the angle made by the land walls and the Golden Horn, was approximately .1 km. from the walls; see Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 48, 57-58, 324. Contrary to Akropolites' account, Pachymeres (I,160,5-7) claims that Michael encamped by the Golden Gate, considerably to the south of the Blachernai district.

187,6-10. In his Testament Arsenios claims that he was detained at Skoutarr (Uskudar), on the Asiatic shore, until he would agree to certain demands made of him by Michael Palaiologos: to accept Nikephoros' appointment to the Patriarchate as canonical, as well as all those who had been appointed by Nikephoros (PG CXL, 953 C D). Akropolites, as usual, is not complimentary of Arsenios (see above 177,5-178,10).

187,11-12. George Kleidas was metropolitan of Cyzicus on the sea of Marmora, from Theodore II's reign; see Epistulae, ed. Festa, 198-200.

Pachymeres (I, 160,16) confirms that he pronounced the prayers while Holobolos refers to him as ὁ δ' ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἑλλησπόντου (Treu, 73,24).

187,13-14. The Golden Gate, at the south-west entrance to the city, was called 'Gold' or 'Golden' in an inscription of Theodosius II who was probably responsible for its construction. It is flanked by two towers; see Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 269-272; T. Macridy, S. Casson, 'Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople', Archaeologia 81 (1931), 63-84.

187,14-16. The monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν, located near St. Sophia, in the Seraglio near the sea walls, is thought to have been founded or at least rebuilt in the ninth century; see Janin, La Géographie Ecclesiastique III, (1969) 2nd edn., 199-207. An icon of the Theotokos, said to have been painted by St. Luke, was housed in the monastery and came to be associated with it, whence its name ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια (Conductrice). The icon was the object of special reverence and ceremonial. It was revered every Tuesday and during Holy Week; see Pseudo-Kodinos, ed. Verpeaux, 228,231. After 1204 the icon was the cause of a quarrel between the Latin Patriarch and the Venetian Podestà. See R.L. Wolff, 'Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria', Traditio 6 (1948), 319-328. The Venetians took the icon and kept it in the Pantokrator monastery (TT,II, 45-47) where it stayed until 1261. Pachymeres says that the Emperor Michael had the icon brought to the Golden Gate from that monastery (I, 160,8-14).

Michael chose to include and honour this icon ostensibly in the ceremonial of his entry both because it played a central role in the religious life of the people of the city and because it was the Virgin's feast day. The last time the icon had been displayed on the walls of the city was in 1187, to ward off a siege of the city staged

by Alexios Branas; see Choniates, CSHB 496,18-497,3; ed. van Dieten, 381,46-332,61. See Michael's coins, dating to post 1261, which represent, on the reverse, the Theotokos orans on top of, or surrounded by, the walls of the city; see W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum (London, 1908) II, p. 608, type 1; pl. lxxiv, 1.

187,20-21. The Κύριε 'Ελέησον or 'Christ have mercy' is often said or chanted in the liturgy after a statement by the deacon. See Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western (Oxford, 1896), 375.

187,25-29. The Emperor's entry through the Gate was accomplished θεοπροπῶς rather than βασιλικῶς because the Emperor walked on foot with the icon of the Hodegetria leading the way and did not ride in triumph in a chariot; see Holobolos, ed. Treu, 75,23-29; Pachymeres, I, 160, 19-161,3. The Golden Gate was the official entrance for Emperors returning from expeditions. See Robert of Clari's description of the gate and its function as a triumphal entry: trans. Mc Neal, 108-109. Pachymeres relates the story that Michael, as a baby, could be lulled to sleep only when his sister would tell him that he would become Emperor one day and enter Constantinople through the Golden Gate (I,128,5-15).

A lead seal depicting Michael holding an icon of the Virgin and Child above his head is, according to Zacos and Vegliery, a representation of Michael's procession into the city(Byzantine Lead Seals, I,3, no. 2756 bis). However, it should be noted that the representation of the icon in the seal shows the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ before her chest (Nikopoiios type) and not on her arm (Hodegetria type).

187,29-31. The Stoudios monastery was named after its fifth century founder who built a church on his property and dedicated it to St. John

the Baptist. It lies on the main road from the Golden Gate to the centre of the city (about 1/4 mile distance); see Janin, La Géographie Ecclésiastique III, 430-440.

187,31-188,2. The church of St. Sophia, originally called the Great Church or simply Sophia (the attribute of Christ Logos), was built in the fourth century but the structure as it stands today is basically the building of Justinian's reign. Akropolites combines the names, the Great Church and Sophia.

188,2-3. According to Pachymeres (I, 161,7-11) the Emperor Michael had to inhabit the Great Palace, to the south-west of St. Sophia, because the Blachernai palace, the favoured residence of the Komnenoi, had been left in a terrible state by the Latin Emperors; see above 182, 2-27; Janin, Constantinople Byzantine, 106-122. For the condition of the city in general see the accounts of Gregory of Cyprus (PG CXLII, 376 BC) and Gregoras (I, 87,23-88,12); Geanakoplos, Emperor Michael, 122-122-125.

188,8-18. The date of the Patriarch Arsenios' arrival in Constantinople is not known. It is certain, however, that he did not go to the capital until a date after 15 August 1261; see note on 187,6-10. See Pachymeres (I,172,19-173,9) who describes the redecoration of St. Sophia which took place before Arsenios was formally received there.

Akropolites makes a distinction between οἱ ἐν τέλει and οἱ πρόκριτοι τῶν ἀρχόντων (ll. 13-14), a distinction which is difficult to understand or to interpret. The word archon had a range of meanings from member of the court to 'land-owner'. See Angold, Byzantine Government, 68-71. Here Akropolites may be referring to the lesser title-holders.

LXXXIX. 188,19-28. The episode which Akropolites alludes to in this passage either took place on the day of the entry into Constantinople (15 August 1261) or on the day of Arsenios' arrival in the capital (above, 188,8-18). In any event, the oration was certainly intended to be read before Michael's proclamation and coronation in Constantinople since it was concerned with the promotion of the idea of the co-proclamation of father and son. The oration is not known to have survived. See L. Previatile's edition of an anonymous oration addressed to Michael Palaiologos (BZ 42 (1943-1949)). Previatile rejects the possibility that Akropolites is the author on the basis of language and style. However, quite apart from such arguments the work cannot be the one Akropolites mentions here because Previatile's oration calls Andronikos νεόστρατον (45,3) while Akropolites' oration would have had to have been delivered before Andronikos' proclamation.

Andronikos, Michael's second son, was about two years old in 1261; see Papadopoulos, Versuch, 35; van Dieten, Nikephoros Gregoras, commentary, 240, note 114. (Michael's first son Manuel was dead by 1261; see Pachymeres, I, 183,12-17.) Andronikos was proclaimed Emperor along with his father by 25 December 1261. See Holobolos' description of the proclamation which was evidently followed by the coronation in Hagia Sophia: ed. Treu, 93,5-94,13. It was Michael's third proclamation and second coronation; see Holobolos, ed. Treu, 92,26-30; Pachymeres I, 173, 15-18; 191,7-192,2; Wirth, JÖBG 9 (1959), 85-91. By his coronation in Hagia Sophia and his association of his son on the throne, Michael completely secured his position and denied the rights of the heir, John IV whom he had blinded; Pachymeres I, 191, 19-192,15; Schreiner, Kleinchroniken, no. 22; Arsenios, PG, C.L, 953 D-956 A.

189,29-29. Akropolites' statement here would seem to indicate that at the time of the delivery of his oration many officials and notables

still considered John IV the rightful heir. This is why, according to Pachymeres, Michael took three steps to exclude John IV. His name was not mentioned in the diptychs, he was not crowned in Constantinople with Michael, and he was blinded on Christmas day 1261 (I, 190, 16-191, 13).

189, 2. Alexios Strategopoulos, the commander of the troops which took Constantinople in July, was duly honoured by Michael Palaiologos who gave him a triumph and had his name mentioned in the diptychs for a year; see Pachymeres I, 173, 18-174, 2; Gregoras I, 89, 10-13.

189, 5-8. Akropolites leaves us in suspense as to whether he finally delivered his oration but Skoutariotes confirms that it was delivered: ἀνέγνω (ed. Sathas, 555, 17-24). Whether he inferred this from Akropolites' passage or had some way of knowing it for a fact, is not known. Akropolites is refreshingly candid in this passage and the scene he presents is amusing.

The lack of a proper ending to the History is perhaps an indication that it was written late in Akropolites' life and that his death interrupted the completion of the work. See Heisenberg, 'Studien zur Georgios Akropolites', 465-466; Introduction, 52, note 2.

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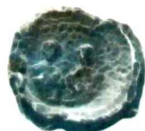
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1b



2a



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